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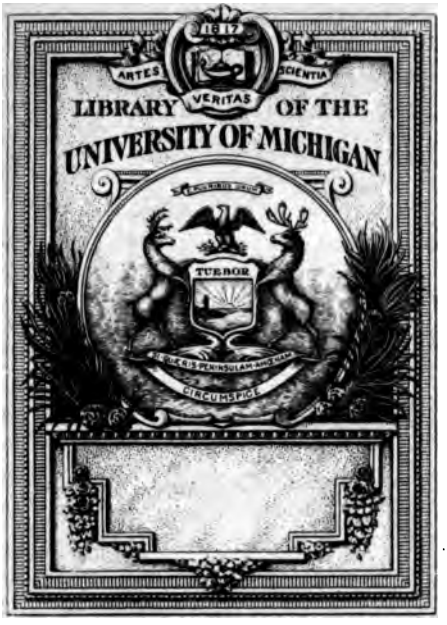
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GEORGE WASHINGTON.

A HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES

BY

ALLEN C. THOMAS, A.M.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN HAVERFORD COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA



BOSTON, U.S.A.

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1899

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PREFACE.

THE aim of this work is to give the main facts of the history of the United States clearly, accurately, and impartially. In the belief that the importance of the events which have occurred since the adoption of the Constitution is becoming more and more recognized, much the greater part of the book is devoted to the era beginning with 1789. The period of discovery and colonization, however, is treated with sufficient fulness to show clearly the origins of the people and of their institutions.

Throughout, special attention is given to the political, social, and economic development of the nation. While the details of battles are omitted, the importance of war periods is not underestimated, but the stress is laid upon causes and results.

The portraits are taken from authentic sources, and the other illustrations are nearly all reproductions from contemporary prints. The courtesy of F. D. Stone of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, of Henry T. Coates, and of The Magazine of American History Company, has permitted the reproduction of some of these. To the kindness of Townsend MacCoun the author is indebted for two of the maps. In-

debtedness to Professor A. B. Hart's excellent series of "Epoch Maps," published by Longmans & Company, should also be acknowledged.

The author is under obligations for valuable assistance to a number of teachers and others, among them Watson W. Dewees of Westtown School, Pennsylvania, and Sidney S. Rider of Providence, Rhode Island. To L. H. Jones, Superintendent of Schools of Indianapolis, Indiana, and W. A. Mowry, Superintendent of Schools, Salem, Massachusetts, who read the work in manuscript, special acknowledgments should be made.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA, December, 1893.

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION.

THE chief feature of the present edition is a new chapter bringing the narrative to the close of the year 1896. The book has been carefully revised, errors, so far as discovered, have been corrected, and some changes have been made in the text for the sake of greater clearness and fulness. The bibliography in Appendix XII. has been thoroughly revised and enlarged.

JANUARY, 1897.

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY.

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1. North America: its Inhabitants. (1492.) — Four hundred years ago the territory now known as the United States was a vast wilderness, occupied rather than settled by numerous tribes of red men, or Indians, as they have since been called. Roving from place to place in search of game upon which they chiefly depended for food, they seem to have made little progress toward civilization during the centuries of their occupation of the land. They tilled a little land, but in a rude way, raising tobacco and a few vegetables, and also maize. Occasionally they built rude timber houses of one story, but for the most part they lived in rude huts, or in wigwams, a kind of tent made by setting poles in the ground and bending them over or bringing them together at the top, and covering the whole with skins or with mats. In the southwest the tribes were more civilized and built more substantial dwellings. As the Indian men disdained to work, nearly all the manual labor fell upon the women.

It is possible that this condition of the hunter stage remaining so long unchanged was due in a great degree to the absence of native animals which could be domesticated, as was remarkably the case in the Mississippi valley and on the Atlantic slope. The turkey is the only domestic animal North America has furnished; for though the horse existed at one time in America, it was not known to the Indian.

Farther to the south, on the borders of Mexico and within its bounds, and also in Central America, there were men *showing a considerable* degree of civilization, but with them

the Indian of the central portions of the continent seems to have had little if any intercourse.

In Ohio and in some of the western states many remains in the form of mounds and enclosures have been found, and the implements and ornaments discovered in these have led



AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

some to believe that a race superior to the Indians inhabited this continent centuries before its discovery by Europeans; but recent investigations show that the Mound Builders, as they have been called, were probably Indians.

2. The Indians. (**1492.**) — At the time of the discovery of the continent, the present territory of the United States was

occupied by a race which has been divided into four principal groups based upon language: —

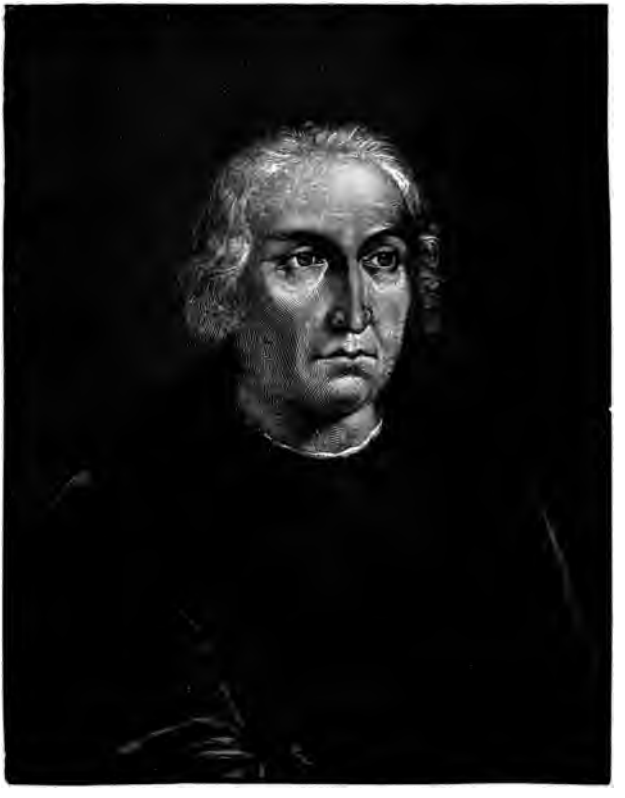
(1) The Algonkins, the most numerous, who held the larger part of the country from South Carolina and Tennessee to the Great Lakes, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. They were very rude and warlike.

(2) The Iroquois, who were chiefly found in what is now central and western New York and in North Carolina. Those in New York were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and were known by the name of the "Five Nations." When those who lived in North Carolina — the Tuscaroras — joined them in 1713, they were called the "Six Nations." The Hurons, who lived near the lake of the same name, though Iroquois, were hostile to the "Five Nations."

(3) The Southern Indians, sometimes called the Muskogee family, occupied the country south of the Algonkins. The most important of this group were the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles. They were less savage than the other groups and more readily adopted the habits and customs of civilization.

(4) The Sioux or Dakotas occupied the country along and beyond the Mississippi River, and were the wildest of all.

3. The Northmen. (900–1000.) — There is but little doubt that, somewhere about the year 1000, Norwegian sailors, often called Northmen, had extended their voyages from Iceland to Greenland, and thence to Labrador; possibly they may have sailed along the coast of North America as far as Rhode Island, which some think is the Vinland of the old Sagas. Some even think that traces of their settlements can still be seen within the bounds of the present United States. Doubtless the news of their discovery was carried home; but Norway was an out-of-the-way country whose inhabitants were



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.



dreaded by the rest of Europe as freebooters, and their stories would hardly have been believed, even if carried to other Europeans. If these stories were known, they were forgotten, and even in Norway the knowledge of the existence of a western continent had faded away. It is also by no means improbable that French fishermen from Brittany had visited the Banks of Newfoundland and the island of the same name before 1492.

4. Columbus; Discovery of America. (1485–1492.) — For centuries Europe had been supplied with silks, spices, and luxuries generally, from India and the East. These had been brought through Constantinople; but when that city fell before the semi-barbarous Turks in 1453, a new route to India seemed a necessity, and men tried to reach that country by sailing south from the straits of Gibraltar. But Christopher Columbus, a skilled navigator, a native of Genoa, after much study and with much experience in the designing of maps, had come to the conclusion that in order to reach India, all that was necessary was to sail west from Europe. Without means to fit out an expedition himself, he tried in turn to induce the governments of Genoa, Portugal, England, and Spain to aid him. He was unsuccessful for a long time. One after another refused to assist him. Isabella, queen of Spain, alone, moved possibly by the thought of benefiting the heathen, inclined to aid him; but *it was not until seven* tedious years of waiting had passed,



SHIP OF 1492.

that he was furnished with money to fit out three small vessels for an apparently foolhardy expedition. The little fleet sailed from Palos, Spain, August 3, 1492, and on the morning of October 12 land was discovered, an island of the Bahama group. This island he named San Salvador, the 12th of October bearing that name in the Roman calendar.[1]

The account of the trials, the eventful voyage, and the ultimate success of Christopher Columbus must ever remain one of the most thrilling stories of history.

The news of the discovery by Columbus created a great stir on his return, and at once preparations were made, not only in Spain, but elsewhere, to send expeditions to the new country which, then and for a long time, was believed by many to be a part of India. Hence the name by which the inhabitants were called.

Columbus made three other voyages; but though he visited Central America, he never saw the continental part of North America.

5. The Cabots; the Name of America. (1493–1507.) — The maritime nations of Europe in the sixteenth century were Spain, Portugal, France, and England, and all the early discoveries were made under the auspices of some one of these countries. The Spanish discoveries were south of Virginia; Portugal, by agreement with Spain, confined her attention to Africa, the East Indies, and Brazil; France devoted most of her energies to lands lying along the St. Lawrence, and to Acadie, now Nova Scotia; while England, through John Cabot and his son Sebastian, had discovered the continent of North America in 1497; and in a subsequent voyage Sebastian Cabot sailed along the whole coast from Cape

[1] This island was probably that now known as Watling's Island. October *12 old style, October 21 according* to present reckoning.

Breton to Albemarle Sound, claiming it for the English king.[1]

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, but residing in Spain, between 1499 and 1503 made four voyages to South America. In 1504 an account of his voyages was printed; and in 1507 Waldseemüller, a German, a teacher of geography in France, who had been much interested in the accounts of Vespucci, printed a small book in Latin, with the title, "An Introduction to Geography," in which occurs this sentence: "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Amerigo or Americus, we may call it Amerige or America." This name, which at first was applied to South America only, was soon extended to both continents; but there is nothing to show that Vespucci did anything personally to gain this honor.



AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

6. Further Discoveries; the Pacific; Balboa; Magellan; De Soto. (1512–1542.) — In 1513 Ponce de Leon sailed on a voyage of discovery from Porto Rico, and on March 27 (Easter Sunday) discovered the shore of a country which he called Florida, from the Spanish name of the day, *Pascua Florida* (the feast of flowers). In 1513 Balboa, crossing the Isthmus of Darien, was the first European to see the Pacific,

[1] The Cabots were natives of Venice, but lived at Bristol, England. John Cabot appears to have been the moving spirit, but his son has received the glory. *The accounts of the Cabots'* explorations are short and unsatisfactory.

which he called "the South Sea." Descending from the height from which he first saw the ocean, he rushed into the water, with drawn sword, claiming it for his sovereign, the king of Spain. These adventurers were both Spaniards. Under the auspices of Spain, Magellan (in Portuguese Magalhaens) first discovered the true geographical character of the new world. Sailing from Spain in 1519, he coasted along the eastern shores of South America, and reaching the straits which now bear his name, he sailed through them and continued his voyage some distance up the western coast, and then boldly turned west across the ocean, which, from its peaceful character, he had already called the Pacific. Five vessels and two hundred and fifty-four men started out on this voyage, but only one vessel and fifteen men reached Spain (1522); Magellan was killed by the natives at the Philippine Islands. This was the first circumnavigation of the world.

Cortez, in 1519, landed in Mexico, and within two years conquered it for Spain. De Soto, a Spaniard, in 1539, sailed from Cuba, and, landing at Tampa Bay on the west coast of Florida, set out on an overland expedition mainly in search for gold. The explorers wandered about for two years, and at last, after many privations, in the spring of 1541 reached the Mississippi River, then for the first time seen by white men. In 1542 De Soto died, and through fear of the Indians his body was buried at midnight in the waters of the great stream which he discovered. His companions finally reached the Spanish settlement in Mexico.

7. English Attempts at Colonization; Sir Walter Ralegh. (1576–1602.) — The men of that day were so full of the idea of getting to India, or were so much taken up with affairs at home, that it was long before definite plans of colonization were thought of. It was not until 1576 that Martin

Frobisher, an Englishman, attempted to make a settlement on the coast of Labrador. This enterprise was a failure, as was also a similar expedition in 1578 under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was not disheartened, but made a second attempt, in which he lost his life, in 1583. In 1584 Sir Walter Ralegh, a half-brother of Gilbert, sent out an exploring expedition, the vessels of which sailed along the coast of what is now North Carolina. Glowing accounts were brought back; Ralegh called the country Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, his virgin queen, and made preparations to send out a colony, which was sent in 1585. Neither knowing how to prepare themselves for such a life nor how to utilize the resources of the country, these colonists settled on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, and almost suffered death from want before a ship arrived to look after them. They all returned to England; but Ralegh, not discouraged, sent out another colony in 1587 to the same place. When an expedition visited the site three years afterward, all the colonists had disappeared, and with them Virginia Dare, the first child born in America of English parents. It has never been certainly *discovered what* became of them, though recent re-



SIR WALTER RALEGH.

searches indicate that the few survivors joined a neighboring tribe of Indians, intermarrying with them. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold attempted to make a settlement on Cuttyhunk, an island in Buzzards Bay, in Massachusetts, but it was unsuccessful. So, though more than a century had passed since the discovery of America, there was not a single English colony on the American coast.

8. French and Spanish Attempts at Colonization. (1540–1605.) — The English were not alone in their failures; France had made various attempts at colonization also, at what was afterwards Quebec (1540); at Port Royal, South Carolina (1562); and near St. Augustine, Florida (1564). Spain had been more successful at St. Augustine (1565), and at Santa Fé (1582), and also in Mexico. The French were successful after 1605, but their colonies were confined to what is now Nova Scotia and to Canada. At first sight it may seem strange that there should have been so many failures, but this feeling disappears when it is remembered that the main object of the colonists had been to get gold, of which it was believed there was an abundance in the new world. Few men went out fully intending to be permanent settlers. The expeditions consisted mostly of those who could not get on at home, and thought they could escape hard work by going to the country where they believed everything was to be had by merely picking it up. Then, again, the parties were few in number, unable to protect themselves against the hostile Indians, were cut off from help or supplies from home, and were, moreover, totally ignorant of the country itself and its requirements in regard to clothing, crops, and climate.

CHAPTER II.

COLONIZATION.

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Special. — For the several colonies see Virginia, Maryland, New York, and Connecticut, in the American Commonwealth Series (these must be used with care, some of them, Maryland and Connecticut in particular, needing correction in matters of detail and inference); Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, vols. iii., iv., v., particularly the monographs on The Carolinas, Maryland, New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; G. W. Greene, History of Rhode Island; C. F. Adams, Three Episodes in Massachusetts History; James Grant Wilson, The Memorial History of New York City. For William Penn consult S. M. Janney, Life of William Penn, pp. 163–274, 394–563; J. Stoughton, Life of William Penn. For the Pilgrims and Puritans see British Quarterly Review, January, 1883; Bancroft, History of the United States, i. 177–214; Bacon's Rebellion, Century Magazine, xl. 418; Old South Leaflets, No. 7, Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629; No. 8, Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; No. 21, Eliot's Brief Narrative. *Consult list of American History* Leaflets, and of Old South Leaflets.

9. English Success; Captain John Smith. (1606–1609.) — It was in 1606 that the first successful English colony was planted. During this year James I. granted a charter to two companies: one the London, the other the Plymouth company. To the former was granted the coast between 34° and 38° north latitude, and to the latter the coast between 41° and 45° north latitude. The intervening country was to be common to both, but no settlements of the respective companies were to be within one hundred miles of each other. The interior limit for both companies was to be one hundred miles from the coast. A plan of government for the colonies was provided, and the London Company began operations by sending out a party of settlers to Virginia, and the first permanent settlement was made in 1607 at Jamestown, on the James River, not far from the present town of that name. Among the colonists who went to Virginia was Captain John Smith. He had already seen many adventures on the continent of Europe; but in spite of his love for marvellous stories, he appears to have been the ablest and clearest-headed of the motley party. He relates that at one time he was taken prisoner by the Indians, that his head was already on the block upon which his brains were to be beaten out, when Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, the chief, rushed up to her father and begged the life of the prisoner. As the Indian princess was only twelve years old when the incident is said to have occurred, and the account did not appear in the first edition of Smith's book, but was added while the heroine was in England, many modern students disbelieve the whole story. Pocahontas, however, was a real character; she married John Rolfe, an Englishman, visited England, and died there. Many Virginians are proud to trace their descent from this Indian woman. Smith was chosen president of the council, and thus became the real governor

of the settlement. His rule was just, being based on the principle that those who did not work should not eat; but this style of government did not suit the colonists, and in 1609 Captain Smith returned to England, his departure being made necessary, as he said, on account of a severe accident which had befallen him. Some modern investigators are of the opinion that the accident was by no means so severe as Smith reported, and that it was used by him as a pretext to escape from a trying and unprofitable position. While in Virginia Captain Smith explored Chesapeake Bay and published a careful map of it. This map is almost too accurate a one to have been made with the rude instruments and inefficient means at Smith's command.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

10. Virginia Colony; Slaves. (1609–1619.) — The colony suffered much, and very nearly came to a melancholy end. In 1609 the company received a new charter extending the limits north and south, and also from sea to sea, west and northwest. In these charters was the provision that the colonists and their children "shall have and enjoy all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England, or in any other of our dominions." It was largely upon this clause, and other similar ones repeated in later charters, that the American colonists rightly based their complaints of unjust treatment by the *mother country.*

In 1619 the Virginia colonists, who had been granted a partly representative government, elected a House of Burgesses, the first representative body that met in America. The same year in which this step towards free government was taken, a Dutch ship brought the first cargo of negro slaves to the colony.

11. Dutch Colonies; New Netherland. (1609–1626.) — Swedish Colonies. (1638.) — Holland was at this time a strong naval power, and in 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in her service, discovered and sailed up the river which bears his name. He also explored the New Jersey coast to Delaware Bay. A small trading post was established in 1613 on Manhattan Island, and in 1614, at Fort Nassau, near where Albany now is. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was organized, and under its auspices Fort Amsterdam, afterwards the city of New York, was established in 1626, the island of Manhattan, upon which it stood, having been purchased of the Indians the same year for about twenty-four dollars. The Dutch bought the land from the natives, whom they generally treated well; but owing to the obstinacy and want of tact of Governor Kieft, there was a terrible war with the Algonkin Indians (1643–1645). Fortunately for the Dutch, the Iroquois were not involved in this war. Anne Hutchinson (Sect. 19) was massacred in this war.

Sweden, which had become a great power under Gustavus Adolphus, determined also to send out colonists, and in 1638 established a settlement at Christina, near the site of Wilmington, Delaware, and later, other settlements along the Delaware River, as far as the site of Philadelphia, where the "Old Swedes' Church" still tells of their former presence. Thrust in as they were between the Dutch and the English *settlements,* the Swedish colonies amounted to but little.

12. **Plymouth Company.** (**1607.**) — The Plymouth Company had attempted to place a colony near the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1607, but the colony, like so many other similar attempts, was a failure. In 1620 a new company, under the name of "The Council of Plymouth for the governing of New England," was organized, and to this company was granted the land between the parallels of 40° and 48° north latitude, and westward to the south seas, but it sent out no expedition on its own account.

Captain John Smith (sect. 9), who had remained quietly in England since his return from Virginia, left England again in the year 1614, and sailed along the Atlantic coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod in search of fish and furs, and in his account of the voyage, which he published on his return, he gave the name of New England to the country. Previously it had been called Norumbega.



A PURITAN GENTLEMAN, 1620.

13. **The Pilgrims.** (**1620.**) — It is an interesting and instructive circumstance that much of the territory of the present United States was settled by men who sought in a new world that liberty to worship God in their own way which was denied them at home. Outward conformity to a state church was one of the cardinal doctrines of the seventeenth century, and, to escape this, some men and women who did not agree with the practices of the Church of England, had emigrated to Holland to gain that liberty of worship refused to them in their English home. First at Amsterdam, and afterward at Leyden also, these refugees found *safety. But not willing* that their children should

grow up among strangers speaking a different language, and for other reasons, also, wishing to change their abode, they made application to the Virginia Company for land in America on which to settle. All arrangements having been completed, one hundred and two Pilgrims, as they are now called, set sail from Plymouth in England on the *Mayflower* for the new home. The voyage was a stormy one, and driven from their course, they reached Cape Cod instead of the coast belonging to the Virginia Company. They, however, decided to remain where they were. It seemed wise to provide for some government in the colony, and, before landing, there was drawn up in the cabin of their little ship the celebrated "*Mayflower* Compact," which was signed by all the men. In it they agreed to combine themselves into a "body politic," and to submit to such "just and equal laws" as might be framed for the general good of the colony. Appendix I.



A CITIZEN, 1620.

14. Landing of the Pilgrims; Trials of the Colonists. (1620–1627.) — After examining the shore of Cape Cod, the Pilgrims chose a spot for their future home, and landed on Plymouth rock December 21, 1620.[1]

The colonists had a desperate struggle with the keenness of a New England winter; they suffered from ill health, and afterwards were at great disadvantage from the poverty of

[1] Owing to a miscalculation, the 22d has been usually celebrated as the anniversary of the landing, but it is clear that the day was December the 11th, old style; and as in the seventeenth century there was a difference of ten days between the old and new mode of reckoning, the 21st is the correct date according to the new style.

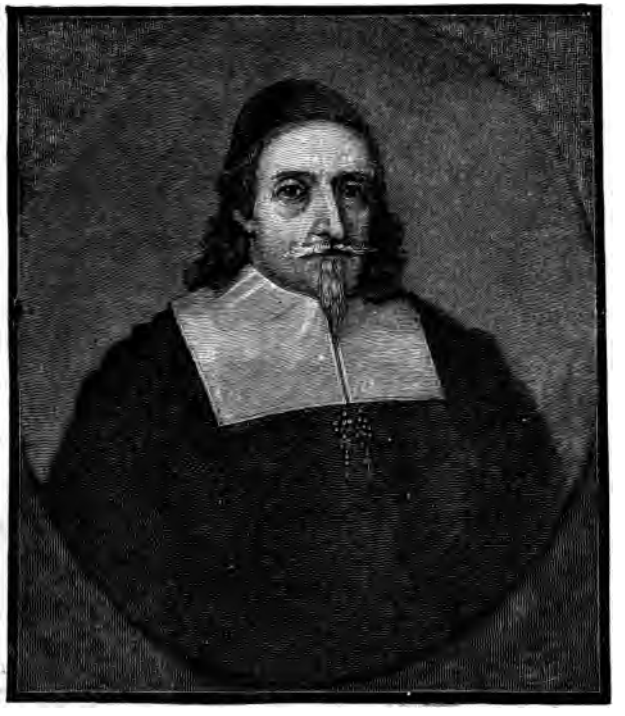
the soil, from fewness of number, and from the payment of an exorbitant rate of interest (45 per cent) to the merchants who had provided the means for fitting out the expedition. Notwithstanding all these discouragements the band persevered. Unlike the colonists in Virginia, these Pilgrims had come to make their home in the new world, and we hear of no disputes like those in the southern colony, while their privations were borne with an heroic spirit. Among the company was Captain Myles Standish, not a member of their religious communion, and his presence illustrates the freedom which prevailed. He proved himself of the greatest assistance to the suffering little band, particularly during the first trying winter, when half the little company died from disease and exposure. John Carver, the governor, was one of those who thus perished. William Bradford was chosen to succeed him, and so acceptable was his administration that he was re-elected annually for thirty years except when by "importunity he got off." In 1627 the colonists bought out the merchants' interest, and the colony became commercially, as it was politically, free. From this time the colony continued to advance, though but slowly.



MYLES STANDISH'S KETTLE AND PLATTER.

15. **Massachusetts Bay Colony.** (**1629.**) — In 1629 a charter was given to "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," granting them land from

three miles south of the Charles River to three miles nc of the Merrimac River and extending east and west fi ocean to ocean. Like the other colonies, Massachusetts many disputes in regard to territory and boundaries. Sc



JOHN ENDICOTT.

of these differences were of long standing; that with N York was not finally adjusted until 1855.

John Endicott was the leader of the Massachusetts e grants, and in the year 1628 had come over to Naumk *(Salem) with* about one hundred emigrants. John Endic

was a typical Puritan, "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness-work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere, applying himself to either as occasion served." Salem, as Naumkeag was now called, in anticipation of the peace which the colonists hoped to obtain, became the chief of the Massachusetts Bay settlements, and remained so for some time.

16. Peculiarities of the Massachusetts Colony. (1629–1640.) —In 1629 five vessels, among which was the *Mayflower*, brought a large reinforcement. In the same year, 1629, the step was taken of carrying the charter itself to the colony, which was equivalent to transferring the government to the colonists themselves. Heretofore, at least the nominal power over all the colonists remained in the mother country. That the Plymouth colony was governed in accordance with the *Mayflower* agreement is really an exception, but it was so small a colony as to attract little attention.[1]



SHIP OF 1630.

The number of colonists rapidly increased, and by 1640 twenty thousand had sought homes in the new colony of Massachusetts Bay. There were important differences between this colony and others. (1) It was undertaken by men of position and means, on their own account, and in their own person.

[1] The legal right of the Massachusetts Bay Company to transfer the charter has often been questioned. It is evident that the grantors had not thought of *such transferrence.*

(2) nominally a commercial enterprise it was really an attempt to found a new political state. (3) Those who took part were not at first separatists from the Church of England, like the Pilgrims, but were Puritans who desired a reformation within the church. (4) The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay persecuted, which the Pilgrims did not do, at least during the earliest years of the colony.



A COUNTRYWOMAN, 1620.

17. Growth of Political Freedom in Massachusetts. (1629–1670.)—John Winthrop was chosen governor before the charter was taken to the colony, and he held the office for four years and was several times re-elected. The colonists had almost entire control of their own affairs. For some time the governor, his deputy, and his council (called the "Assistants") met with the freemen to make the laws, and decide upon all public matters. As the number of freemen increased such an arrangement became very inconvenient, and to meet this difficulty nearly all the power was given to the governor and his council. It was not long, however, before the people of one of the townships rebelled against the amount of a tax levied upon them, and the result of their protest was that a House of Representatives was established to meet with the governor and council. To this body each township sent two representatives. The colonists thus early objected to "taxation without representation."

Gradually it came about that the representatives sat apart from the governor and the council, and a legislature with two houses grew up.

The colony was carried on in many respects more after the Hebrew laws of the Old Testament than after English laws. Church and State were closely united; indeed they were, in the early colonial days, considered as one. The freemen met in the church building or "meeting-house" whenever they had occasion to come together. The ministers were magistrates, and only church members were allowed to have a voice in the government, and for forty years perhaps three-fourths of the men had no vote.

18. **Puritans; Roger Williams.** (1635.) — It has often been said that the Puritans came to establish religious liberty; but such was not the case. They had no idea of founding a colony where different forms of worship could exist side by side; they believed in uniformity. Like most men of the age in which they lived they did not believe in religious toleration, and in this they differed from the Pilgrims. Very soon after the beginning of the settlement the question of toleration had to be determined. In 1631 a young man about twenty-four years of age, a minister, whose name was Roger Williams, arrived in one of the vessels. At once he caused much trouble, for he did not hesitate to express his views, which were far too liberal for the authorities. He believed that the civil power should have no control over a man's conscience, and that no one should be forced to support public worship. For these and other liberal opinions he was, in 1635, sentenced to be banished. Intending to settle on the shores of Narragansett Bay, he was making preparation to go thither with some *friends, when he* heard of a plot to seize him and



A PURITAN GENTLEMAN, 1646.

send him to England. At once he fled into the wilderness, though it was the depth of winter, to Massasoit, an Indian chief, at Sowams (Warren, Rhode Island), near which place he remained for a number of weeks, "not knowing what bread or bed did mean."

19. Founding of Providence and Rhode Island. (1636–1644.) —In June, 1636, he chose a place which he called Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay, for a new settlement. A large tract of land was given him by the Indians, or bought from them, which in course of time he sold or gave away to settlers. He made his refuge "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience," and it was not long before many such came to him, among them Anne Hutchinson, who, having been banished from Massachusetts, came to Rhode Island in 1638. She was a very able woman and upheld the right of women to preach and to take part in the church government: she also taught other opinions much in opposition to Puritan doctrines. After a trial in which she defended herself ably, she was banished like Roger Williams. It must be said that however excellent were the views of Roger Williams in regard to religious toleration, on political matters they were such as to strike at the very root of government as then understood, and it was not unnatural that he should be looked upon as a dangerous person. He was far in advance of his contemporaries in respect to political and religious matters. In 1638 Portsmouth, and in 1639 Newport, both on the island of Rhode Island, were settled by refugees from Massachusetts. At first these colonies were independent and governed themselves in a democratic way; but Roger Williams went to England and succeeded in getting a patent from Parliament in 1644, under which all the various colonies in what is now the state of Rhode Island were united under the name of

"The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New-England." On the restoration of Charles II. to the English throne, it was found necessary to procure a new charter, which was granted by the king in 1663.[1] This charter was so liberal that it was continued in force until 1843[2] (sect. 251).

In this colony alone was perfect religious liberty allowed, and "Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks" were to be protected in their religion. This great liberty attracted many persons who wished for license, and there was much trouble in the colony from such.

20. Settlement of Boston; and Connecticut. (1630–1638.) — Salem was not attractive to all, and as the number of colonists was large, some moved to Watertown, some to Newtown (Cambridge), and some to other places: Boston, at first Trimountain from its three hills, was founded in 1630. In 1635 and 1636 parties left the old settlements and going out into the wilderness founded Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, on the Connecticut River. These villages were far from others, and in 1637 they took the rule into their own hands, and in 1638 (old style) formed a written constitution for themselves. This was the first written constitution in America, and one of the first in history. No higher power than the people themselves was recognized, and all men were freemen who, admitted as such by the freemen of the town, should take the oath of allegiance. No one except the governor was required to be a church member. This agreement is known as "The Fundamental Orders of Connecti-

[1] In this charter the title Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is used. Rhode Island alone of the states retains two capitals, one being Newport, the other Providence, thus perpetuating the local pride of colonial days.

[2] The new constitution was ratified by popular vote in 1842, and went into *operation May 1, 1843.*

cut." A charter was obtained from Charles II. in 1662, and was so liberal that it continued in force till 1818. Quinnipiack, afterwards New Haven, was founded in 1638, by London doners, who distrusted Massachusetts. Other colonies were elsewhere founded from time to time, until in 1664 all these settlements were united under the name of Connecticut.

21. **Maine; New Hampshire.** (1627–1677.) — Maine was part of the territory of the Plymouth Company, and there had been several attempts to colonize it, but all had resulted in failure except the Pemaquid colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1627. In 1635 the Plymouth Company resigned its charter to the British crown, but previously the members had divided the unsettled country between themselves. Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained most of what is now Maine; Captain John Mason received as his part the land west of the Piscataqua River, which tract, he called, after his own county in England, New Hampshire. Neither Gorges nor Mason had much to do with these lands, and the settlers were thus allowed great liberty. New Hampshire, though several times attached to Massachusetts, finally, in 1741, became independent of it. The settlers in Maine during 1652 and 1658 submitted themselves to Massachusetts, and in 1677 Massachusetts bought all Gorges' rights in the province. Vermont was claimed both by New York and New Hampshire and the question was not settled until Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791.

22. **Lord Baltimore; Maryland.** (1632.) — The Plymouth Company surrendered its charter in 1635. The London Company had already given up its charter in 1624, so all the territory, according to the belief of that day, was in the *hands of the king* to do with it as he wished. Accordingly in

1632 Charles I. granted to Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, lands east of the Potomac River, including both sides of the Chesapeake Bay. This tract, to which the name Maryland was given, in memory of the English queen, Henrietta Maria, was within the bounds of the original London Company, and Virginia had already taken some steps to colonize parts of it. Before the written agreement was perfected Lord Baltimore died, but the patent was given to his son Cecilius Calvert. Both were Roman Catholics.[1]



CECILIUS CALVERT.

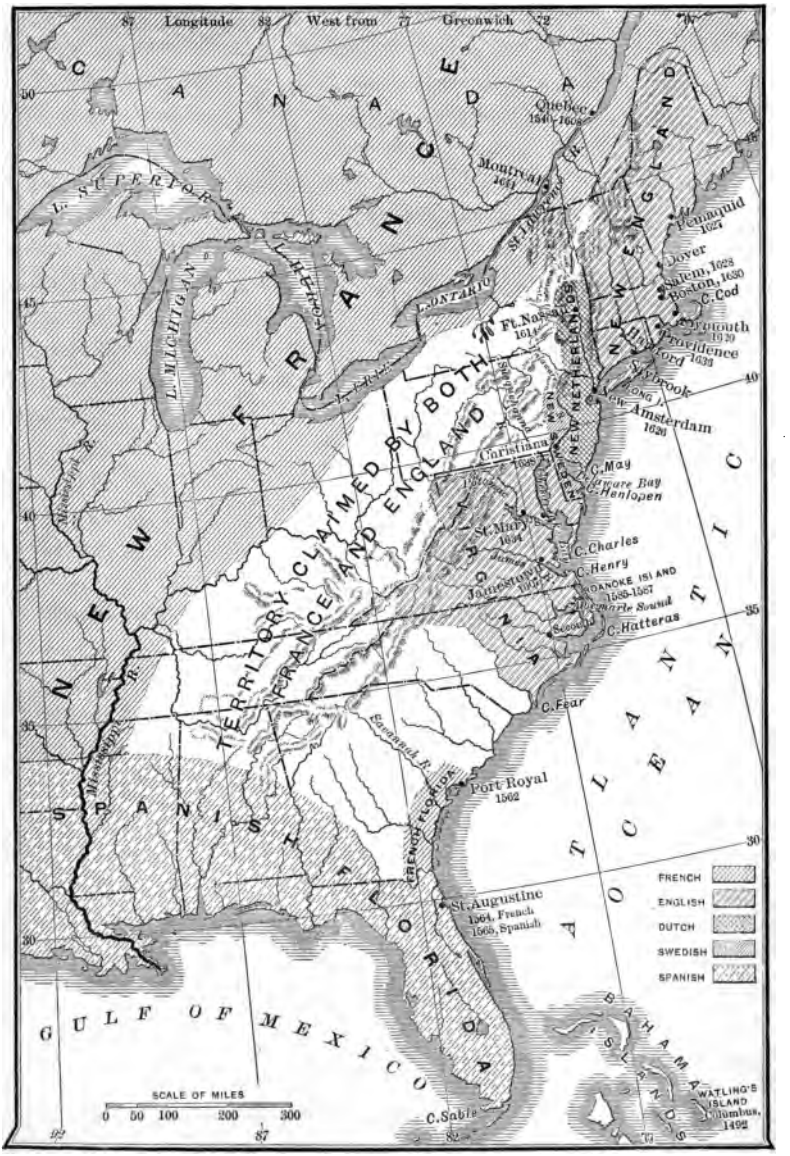
The grant was a liberal one, nothing but allegiance to the crown, the yearly tribute of two Indian arrows, and one fifth part of all the gold and silver mined, being required. Baltimore was given the powers of a Palatinate, which

[1] The boundaries of the grant were remarkably precise for that day, being, the Potomac from its source to its mouth, thence across the Chesapeake Bay to Watkins Point, thence to the ocean, which with the Delaware Bay was the eastern boundary. The northern boundary was the fortieth parallel of north latitude to the meridian of the south fountain of the Potomac. It will be seen that these boundaries included the state of Delaware and *a considerable part of* Pennsylvania.

were almost regal.[1] His title was Proprietary, and he was really a monarch, though subordinate to the king. At the same time the freemen were to take part in the making of the laws: they were to have freedom of trade, and to possess the rights of native-born Englishmen. Religious toleration was proclaimed by Lord Baltimore. In this respect Maryland and Rhode Island stand alone in the early annals of the country, though the latter was the more liberal, as Maryland required a belief in Jesus Christ, while Rhode Island made no stipulation. The character of the religious toleration granted in Maryland has been the subject of much controversy. Little is said about toleration in the charter, and that very vaguely; but there was probably a private understanding between the king and Baltimore that Roman Catholics and Protestants should be treated alike. Unless this had been so there is no probability that he could have obtained the charter, or that any great number of emigrants would have gone out. Contrary to a very common impression, it seems that Roman Catholics were always in a minority in the colony, even from the very first shipload. In 1676 the proprietary himself said that more than three fourths of the inhabitants were Protestants.

23. Maryland continued; Toleration Act; Troubles. (1633–1692.) — In 1633 Leonard Calvert, a younger brother of the proprietary, sailed with about two hundred emigrants, and buying from the Indians a small village near the mouth of the Potomac, founded, March, 1634, the town of St. Mary's. Before issuing the patent to Baltimore, the king had given a license for trading, and also the ownership of the land on the Chesapeake Bay, to a settler, William Clayborne, who refused

[1] The charter was modelled on the Palatinate system as then existing in the county of Durham, England, which had been established by William *the Conqueror.*



***EUROPEAN* COLONIES—ABOUT, 1650.**

to acknowledge the proprietary and gave the colonists much annoyance. It was an instance of conflicting claims which were very common in the early history of America.

The Maryland Assembly passed in 1649 the "Toleration Act," which was confirmed in the following year by the proprietary. It is praiseworthy as being among the first legislative acts in favor of anything like toleration. It was restricted toleration, however, not religious freedom, for severe penalties were prescribed against all persons guilty of blasphemy, or denying the divinity of Christ, or using reproachful words against the Virgin Mary or the Apostles; but it does not appear that these punishments were ever inflicted. This act simply changed what had been a custom into a law.

The colony had little trouble from the Indians except when they were stirred up by the white men, and Maryland prospered greatly and increased rapidly in population. The liberal policy of the proprietary attracted settlers, and he himself invited men from all quarters, even Puritans from England. The new comers had not the spirit of toleration, and as soon as they and their sympathizers were in the majority, they made Maryland an Episcopal colony, disfranchised the Roman Catholics, and the Friends or Quakers, and taxed everyone to support the Church of England, which was made the established church in 1692. By the English revolution of 1688 Lord Baltimore lost his province, because he had sided with the fallen Stuarts, and Maryland became a royal colony, the king appointing the governors; but in 1715 the nominal proprietary having become Protestant, the colony was restored to the Baltimore family, with whom it remained until the Revolution.

24. Virginia becomes a Royal Colony. (**1624.**) — The adoption of a *House of Burgesses* in Virginia (sect. 10) was

approved by the company in England, and in 1621 a written constitution was sent out confirming the privileges. In 1624 the charter of the company was annulled by the crown, and Virginia became a royal province. The king now appointed the governor and Council, but the Assembly still made the laws subject to the veto of the governor. Tobacco was the staple crop of the province, and large quantities of it were raised and exported. The number of navigable streams added greatly to the ease of export, for the vessels could come up to the plantations and load directly for England. Tobacco was also the principal article of trade, so much so indeed that it was used in place of money both in keeping accounts and in purchasing.

Virginia was always a Church of England, or Episcopal, colony; this was the established church, and all persons were taxed for its support. It was also a very loyal colony, and sided with the king in the civil war, but made no resistance when Parliament was in control.

25. Virginia; Bacon's Rebellion. (1676.) — When Charles II. came to the throne, he rewarded the Virginians by allowing the governors to rule harshly. The English Navigation laws (sect. 55) operated greatly to the disadvantage of the colonists. Troubles arose with the Indians; the colonists blamed the government for not protecting them, and in 1676 a number under the lead of Nathaniel Bacon rebelled, and raised forces to go against the Indians. Bacon was a member of the celebrated English family of that name, and was a rich, brave, patriotic, and popular man. Berkeley, the governor, at first yielded so far as to give Bacon a commission against the Indians, then when he had gone, proclaimed him and his associates rebels. On Bacon's return, there was civil war *between the parties*, in the course of which Berkeley was

driven out of Jamestown, the capital, and the place burnt. Jamestown was not rebuilt; Williamsburg became the capital. Worn out by the fatigues of his campaigns, Bacon died after a short illness, and the rebellion was at an end. The governor hanged twenty-three of the principal rebels. On hearing this, Charles II. is said to have remarked, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did for the murder of my father." Though the rebellion had been a failure, it showed the character of the people and what might be expected if harsh measures were persisted in.

26. Virginia; Growth and Prosperity of the Colony. (1676–1715.) — Soon after Bacon's rebellion, peace was made with the Indians, and there was no more trouble with them. Virginia remained a royal colony until the Revolution. The manner of life was very different in Virginia from that in the more northern and eastern colonies. The land was fertile and was divided into large plantations; and while there was not as much wealth altogether as in New England, there were more rich men, and these had naturally got most of the power into their own hands. There were fewer towns, as there was little need of protection from the Indians; and, as the planters imported their own goods from England in return for their tobacco, there was no attempt at manufacturing. The planter also supplied his poorer neighbor, who was thus almost continually in his debt and so in his power. Notwithstanding harsh legislation, Virginia prospered greatly and the population increased. In 1670 Berkeley estimated the population at 40,000, including 2000 negro slaves and 6000 indentured white servants. Indentured servants were of at least four classes: (1) Those who, for the sake of emigrating to the new country, had bound themselves for a certain number of years to those who paid their passage money.

(2) Those who when boys and girls had been bound to service until they became of age. (3) Persons of all ages who had been kidnapped and brought over and sold to the planters. (4) Convicts who had been sent to the colonies to rid England of their presence; more convicts were sent to Virginia than to any other colony, and not a few of these, removed from evil association, became excellent citizens. In 1715 the total population was thought to be about 95,000.

27. The Carolinas. (1663–1665.) — In 1663, and again in 1665, Charles II. granted the territory now occupied by the Carolinas and Georgia to eight proprietors, most of whom had aided him in regaining the crown of England. As usual, little regard was paid to the boundaries, or to previous claims, for the gift included settlements which had been made by the Virginians, and which by right belonged to that province. When the French had attempted to plant a colony at Port Royal (sect. 8), they had called a fort Carolina in honor of Charles IX. of France; the proprietors used this name, but in honor of Charles of England. This grant extended to the Pacific Ocean and south into Florida, thus conflicting both with French and Spanish claims.

28. The Carolinas; John Locke; John Archdale. (1669–1696.) — It was resolved to provide a model government for the Carolinas, and an elaborate scheme for the new enterprise was drawn up. The philosopher John Locke was consulted, but his share in the document is not known; his published views on government make it unlikely that he was responsible for many of the political features. The scheme provided for a nobility having different ranks, — proprietors, landgraves, caciques, and lords of manors. While the nobility *were to own a* certain amount of land in proportion to their

rank, the people were not to own any, but were to be in a position like the old Russian serf, attached to the soil, and without voice in the government. The plan was complex and impracticable; the colonists could not have understood it, and could not have carried it out if they had. The only immediate effect was almost to destroy what little government there was in the colony, particularly in the northern part, with the result of making it the most turbulent, lawless, and factious of all the American settlements. An attempt was made to adapt the government to the "model," but it was finally given up in 1693 without ever having gone into practical operation. In 1695 the proprietors sent out John Archdale, a Friend, as governor. Under his wise administration order was restored. He lowered the quit-rents, paid the proprietors, pursued a peaceful policy toward the Indians and the Spaniards, appointed a council satisfactory to the colonists, and allowed them to choose their representatives to the Assembly. The result was "prosperity, and, for a time, peace to the colony." In 1696 the representatives in South Carolina declared that Archdale, by "his wisdom, patience, and labor, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstruction." Such praise as this is perhaps unique in American colonial history. After a short time Archdale went back to England, and before long the old state of disorder returned.

29. Division of the Carolinas; North Carolina. (1729.) — It was found in a few years that Carolina was too large to be governed as one colony, and so there were two Assemblies chosen, and after having sometimes two governors and sometimes one, it was finally (1729) divided into two parts which received the names by which they are now known. The first settlers *of the colony of* North Carolina were from Virginia;

others came from New England, and later, from the northern colonies, from Scotland, from the north of Ireland, and from Switzerland. "The population was much more scattered than elsewhere, schools were few, and the advance of the North Carolinians was on lines of independence and sturdy courage rather than of refinement and elegance."

30. South Carolina; the Carolinas become Royal Colonies. (1629–1729.) — In 1670 the proprietors sent out a colony to settle within the bounds of South Carolina. At first a position some distance from the sea was chosen, but after ten years' trial the whole settlement was moved to the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where the city of Charleston now is. These rivers were named after one of the proprietors, the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose name was Anthony Ashley Cooper. The number of settlers was increased by emigrants from North Carolina, by Dutch from New York, and by a large number of French Protestants or Huguenots from France, who had left their homes on account of the persecution following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots formed a most valuable part of the population, though they were not admitted for some time to all the rights of the other colonists. The chief products of South Carolina were rice and indigo: the former was introduced from the East Indies in 1696, and the latter in 1741. These two crops were the chief staple products until the invention of the cotton gin gave cotton the first place. In North Carolina, tar, pitch, turpentine, and lumber were the staple products. The proprietors had gained little profit from their grant, but in 1719 there was a rebellion against them in South Carolina, and the colonists, on appealing to the king, were given a royal governor. In 1729 the proprietors sold all their rights *to the crown,* and the Carolinas became absolutely royal

colonies, and were permanently divided into North and South Carolina.

31. Settlement of Georgia; Oglethorpe. (1733.) — Though the latest of the colonies, it may be well to notice the settlement of Georgia in this connection. General James Oglethorpe was an Englishman whose heart had been touched by the sight of the suffering of the poor in England, particularly of those who had been imprisoned for debt, and he resolved to try to better their condition by offering them a refuge in the new world, where they could make a new start in life. Accordingly he obtained a grant of the land lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers and extending westward to the South Seas, to found such a colony. The charter (1732) was to last for twenty-one years. The powers invested in a board of trustees were almost absolute, the settlers themselves having little voice; there was to be religious freedom to all but Roman Catholics: slavery was forbidden, and also the sale of rum. In the fall of 1732, the same year in which the charter was granted, Oglethorpe himself sailed with an expedition, and made a settlement (1733) on the site of the *city of Savannah*. Notwithstanding the efforts

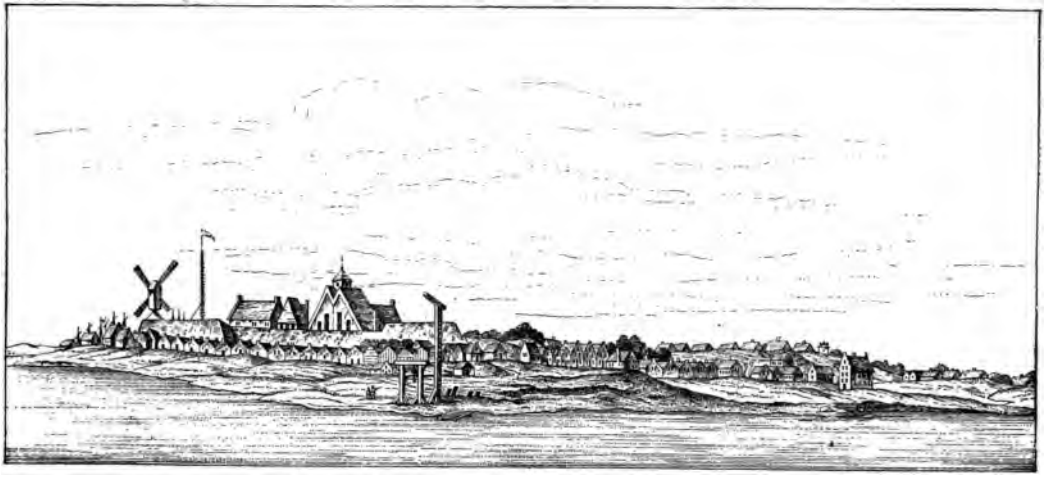


JAMES OGLETHORPE.

of the founder, and of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, the great preachers, it was long before Georgia, as the colony was named, proved a success. The very restrictions which the trustees, who had no pecuniary interest in the undertaking, had provided for the good of the colonists, were not only distasteful to them as in the case of slavery, but in some cases, as in the restrictions upon the sale of land, were really injurious to the prosperity of the colony. At the expiration of twenty years the trustees resigned their charter to the crown, and Georgia, like the Carolinas, became a royal colony with its governor appointed by the crown.[1]

32. The Dutch and New Netherland; Disputes with English Colonies. (1626–1664.) — The Dutch West India Company governed New Netherland (sect. 11) from 1626 to 1664, but the settlements were regarded by the Dutch in the light of trading posts rather than colonies, and they do not seem to have realized in the slightest degree the possibilities that were before them in the possession of the Hudson River and New York Bay. The settlements were few and grew slowly. Meanwhile the English colonies to the north and south, increasing rapidly in wealth and population, were divided by the Dutch possessions as by a wedge. This was both unpleasant and dangerous. There were many disputes between the settlers of Connecticut and the Dutch regarding territory, not only on the mainland, but also on Long Island, on which men from Connecticut had settled, but which the Dutch claimed. The English always held that the whole coast from Maine to Florida belonged to them in virtue of the Cabots' discovery (sect. 5), and so Charles II. in 1664 granted the territory held by the Dutch, and also Pemaquid

[1] Oglethorpe lived to see the colonies gain their independence. He died *in London in 1785.*



NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1656.

(nearly what is now the state of Maine), Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and all Long Island, to the Duke of York, his brother, afterwards James II., as an absolute dominion, the only proviso being that no laws should be made conflicting with those of England. The importance of this grant lay in the fact that the Duke of York was the heir to the throne and at the death of Charles II. all these would become crown property.

33. Capture of New Amsterdam by English; New York. (1664.) — The duke sent out the same year a strong force, which, appearing before New Amsterdam, found that town wholly unprepared for defence, and so the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, was forced to submit. Richard Nicolls, who commanded the fleet, immediately proclaimed the Duke of York as ruler, and ordered that the city should henceforth be called New York. Fortunately most of the Dutch, feeling that they had been neglected by their old rulers, or perhaps not caring very much about the matter, quietly accepted the situation, and so the transfer of authority was accomplished without a drop of blood being shed. Even Stuyvesant gave in his allegiance. The conquest of the remaining posts soon followed, and the whole province was lost to the Dutch. Nicolls, whom the duke had appointed governor, was a skilful, shrewd man, and managed affairs well. Though the government was absolute, — a despotism, — it was mild; the Dutch laws and



PETER STUYVESANT.

customs were not rudely overturned, and there was little at first to complain of.

34. Recapture of New York by Dutch; Restored to English. Leisler. (**1673–1691.**) — The Dutch at home did not regard the capture of New Netherland with equanimity, but it was not until 1673 that they saw an opportunity for revenge. In that year a powerful fleet appeared off New York and found the city as unprepared as Nicolls had found it nine years before, and again it was conquered without a blow, and the province was again under Dutch rule. Peace was made in 1674, and William of Orange, the stadtholder of Holland, seeing the difficulty of retaining the settlement, readily consented to return it to England. It then remained under the English rule until the Revolution. The later English governors were harsh, and the colonists had much less freedom than their neighbors, not having an Assembly until 1683, and even this privilege was taken away for a short time, though afterwards restored. There were continual troubles with Connecticut about boundaries, with East Jersey about duties on produce, and also with the Indians. In 1689 the people were so enraged with the governor that they rose against him under the leadership of a captain of the guards, Jacob Leisler, whom they made governor in his place. William and Mary, who had succeeded to the English throne, sent out a new governor, Sloughter, who arrested *Leisler on the charge of* high treason; on his conviction,



JACOB LEISLER'S HOUSE.

Sloughter was persuaded to sign his death warrant, and he was executed. Leisler's true character has been the subject of much dispute, some regarding him as a true patriot, others as an adventurer, whose chief object was to get power for himself, and whose rule was as bad as that of the English governors, if not worse.

35. The Patroons in New York. (**1629.**) — The Dutch had encouraged emigration by making large grants of land to patroons, a kind of nobility. These let out their lands at low rents to settlers, who therefore were not owners as in the other colonies. The English did not alter this arrangement, and it was not until about 1844 that the last remnant of this system disappeared (sect. 251).

In the Dutch charter providing for the patroons (1629), it was stated that "the Patroons and colonists were to support a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cold and neglected among them." This provision is among the very earliest in America which recognize the importance of establishing the foundation of religion and education.[1]

Notwithstanding its unrivalled position, New York grew slowly. When Stuyvesant surrendered to the English in 1664, the population of that city was about 1500 only, and the northern limit was a wall running from river to river, where Wall Street now is.

36. New Jersey Charter. (**1664.**) — The Swedes, who had begun a settlement on the Delaware River (sect. 11) in 1665, were conquered by the Dutch, and the whole of what is now New Jersey and also the west bank of the Delaware River

[1] The influence of the Dutch upon American institutions has not been sufficiently recognized.

and Bay came under Dutch rule. When Charles II., in 1664, made his grant to the Duke of York, all the Dutch and Swedish settlements were included. The same year the duke granted to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, as proprietors, what is now New Jersey. In the patent the name was fixed as New Cæsaria or New Jersey. This name was given in honor of Sir George Carteret, who held the island of Jersey in the English Channel during the civil war in England. The proprietors provided a system of government which was very liberal, and also sent out a relative of Carteret, Philip Carteret, as governor. The landing was made at a settlement which the governor named Elizabethtown, after the wife of Sir George Carteret. There was much trouble experienced from former settlers, and politically the proprietors had no easy time. The Indians were, however, paid for their lands when taken, and being fairly treated in other respects, the colony was not harassed by Indians.

37. Growth of New Jersey; Division of the Colony. (1674.) — The liberal concessions of the proprietors attracted many settlers, and Newark was founded by Puritans from Connecticut in 1666; many also came from Long Island. In 1674 Berkeley sold half of his province, which was the western, to Edward Byllinge and John Fenwick, both members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. The province was thus divided into two parts known as West and East Jersey. The boundary line was the subject of much dispute and was changed more than once. John Fenwick went out with an expedition in 1675 and landed at a place which he called Salem. In 1677 William Penn and others of the same religious body bought Byllinge's share, and founded Burlington during the same year.

38. Penn and Others buy East Jersey. (1681.) — In 1681 William Penn and eleven others, probably all Friends, bought East Jersey, which, after Sir George Carteret's death, was offered at auction to the highest bidder. These twelve owners soon sold out one-half of their interest to twelve others, thus increasing the owners to twenty-four. There was a strange mixture of religious and political beliefs represented, — "Papists, Dissenters, and Quakers," Royalists, and Puritans. Notwithstanding this great diversity of opinion there seems to have been no discord among the owners, and one of their number, Robert Barclay, the well-known author of the "Apology" or defence of Quaker doctrines, was chosen governor. He did not, however, come to America, but sent a deputy whose administration was very satisfactory.

39. West Jersey; Presbyterian Influence; Becomes a Royal Colony. (1685–1702.) — Meanwhile a separate government was maintained in West Jersey, Edward Byllinge being the first governor, but, like Barclay, ruling by a deputy. Burlington was the capital of West Jersey. The capital of East Jersey was first Elizabethtown and afterwards Perth Amboy.

The Presbyterians were at this time suffering much from persecution in Scotland, and that their attention was called to East Jersey as a place of refuge, was probably because the Earl of Perth, and others of the proprietors, were Scotchmen. In 1685 a large number of them emigrated to the new province and so laid the foundation of the Presbyterian influence in New Jersey. The influence of the Puritans in East Jersey is shown by the severity of the laws for the punishment of crimes, as there were thirteen classes of offences punishable by death in that province, while in West Jersey capital punishment was not allowed.

Andros, who was appointed by James II. governor of all



WILLIAM PENN.

the English settlements north of "forty degrees of northern latitude" except Pennsylvania and Delaware, though claiming authority over the Jerseys, was content with simply having his authority acknowledged. In 1702 the proprietors resigned all rights to the crown, and the provinces were united. The united province had the same governors as New York, but a separate legislature, until 1738, when it was given a governor of its own.

40. William Penn; Pennsylvania; Dispute with Lord Baltimore. (**1681.**) — William Penn, one of the owners of the Jerseys, born in 1644, was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn of the English navy, a successful officer. He had joined the Quakers much to the grief of the admiral his father, who for some time refused to be reconciled. When the admiral died, there was due him a large sum of money which he had loaned to the crown. In 1680 Penn proposed to Charles II. that in settlement of this debt of £16,000 a tract of land should be given him in America. The king was only too glad to pay the debt thus easily, and in 1681 a charter was given to Penn conveying to him as proprietor the land bounded by the fortieth and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and the lands west of the Delaware River through five degrees of longitude, except a small portion which belonged to the colonies on the Delaware. The lines of the boundaries were supposed to be accurately named, but unfortunately the position of the fortieth degree of latitude was wrongly calculated, and there arose in consequence a long dispute between Lord Baltimore and Penn, and between their successors, as to the boundary, which was not settled until 1763, when two surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, were sent out from England, and established the present line which separates Maryland from Delaware and Pennsylvania. Until the *abolition of slavery this* line was the dividing line between

the free and the slave states, and was regarded as separating the North and the South.[1]

41. Pennsylvania; the "Holy Experiment." (1681.) — The name of Pennsylvania was given in honor of Admiral Penn by Charles II., William Penn himself preferring that of New Wales. Penn also acquired from the Duke of York the possessions which he had obtained on the Delaware Bay and River by his grant of 1664. This colony was known afterwards as the "three lower counties on the Delaware." Penn's chief purpose was to establish a colony where justice should rule, and where there might be liberty of conscience, and, so far as practicable, political freedom and equality.

The charter which Penn obtained was a liberal one. He had the right to govern, appoint officers, and with the consent of the people make necessary laws, which were to be submitted within five years to the crown for approval. Penn soon sent out his relative, William Markham, to take charge and make preparations for his own coming. A pamphlet was published giving a brief account of the country, of the terms of the charter, and the conditions upon which land would be disposed of to the settlers. Penn was a well-known man, and many persons, not only in England and Wales, but in Holland and Germany, prepared to come.[2]

Penn's views of government were broad, and in speaking

[1] The disputes of Penn and Baltimore have been the basis of elaborate attacks upon the former. A careful review seems to show that Penn was in the right if the spirit of the grant be taken, while according to the letter of the grant Baltimore had grounds for protesting. At the same time Baltimore seems to have neglected to take the steps required in order to have an indisputable claim to the lands in question. The northern and western boundaries were afterwards fixed at their present places.

[2] A translation of the pamphlet had been printed in Amsterdam.

of his plans he said, "I propose to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, — that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country." "Because I have been exercised at times about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavor to establish a just and righteous one in this province . . . for the nations want a precedent," "There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment." With these principles before him, he set about drawing up a plan of government.

42. Penn's Frame of Government. (**1682.**) — His experience with the affairs of the East and West Jerseys had made him acquainted with many of the difficulties in a practical administration, and though he consulted Henry Sidney, Sir William Jones and others, there is no reason to doubt that the groundwork of the plan was his own. In the introduction to this "Frame of Government" are the following words: "I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many. . . . But any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion. . . . Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

While the governor was appointed by the proprietor, the Assembly was elected by the people, all men who believed in Jesus Christ and had paid taxes or were freeholders being allowed to vote. Liberty of conscience was allowed to all, but "looseness, irreligion, and atheism" were to be discouraged, and reformation rather than retaliation was the principle *that was followed* in dealing with criminals.

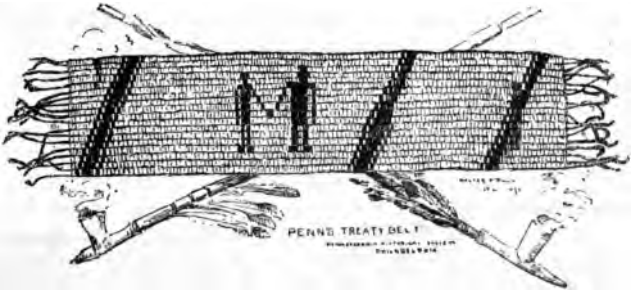
43. Penn sails for America; Treaty. (1682.) — In 16[8] Penn sailed with about one hundred emigrants for his pro ince, and landed October 29 (old style) at Uplandt, no Chester. He immediately set to work to arrange affairs. H had sent by his deputy, the previous year, a letter to t[h] Indians, assuring them of his good will and purpose of tre[a]ing them justly. With this object in view he met the pri cipal Indian chiefs at Shackamaxon, now in Philadelphia, a[n] there held a very friendly conference, and made a treaty peace and good will with them, — a treaty "not sworn to a[nd] never broken." He allowed no land to be occupied until t[he] title had been acquired justly from the Indians, and he pr vided that all differences should be settled by tribunals which both races should be represented. The result of th just policy was that the colonists gained the good will of t[he] natives, and so long as the Friends were in control of t[he] colony, peace and security reigned in the province.[1]

44. Founding of Philadelphia; Penn returns to England; De aware. (1683–1718.) — In 1683 Penn laid out the city Philadelphia (Brotherly-love). The low price of lands, t[he] free government, the fertility of the soil, and the absence persecution attracted many settlers, so that in a very fe years Pennsylvania became one of the most important col nies, growing more in five years than New York had grow in fifty. Members of the Society of Friends from Wal settled the territory north and west of the new city, whi others from Germany, under the lead of Francis Daniel Pa torius, settled Germantown. Perhaps in no other colon was there a greater variety of nationalities and languages.

[1] A belt of wampum said to have been given to Penn by the Indians Shackamaxon is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society *Philadelphia.* The exact date and terms of this famous treaty are disputed

Penn returned to England in 1684, leaving everything in a prosperous condition. In 1692 he was deprived of his province on account of suspected sympathy with the exiled James II., but it was soon restored to him. He visited it again in 1699. There was much trouble in regard to the rents of land and various other matters, and Penn had already made arrangements to sell his province to the crown when he was stricken by paralysis and became incapable of transacting business. His sons inherited his province at his death in 1718. During the war of the Revolution the state purchased the interest of the proprietors for £130,000, and all quit-rents were abolished.

There was much jealousy of Pennsylvania among the colonists of "the lower counties on the Delaware," or "Territories" (sect. 41), and, after many efforts to remove this, Penn gave the "counties" a lieutenant-governor of their own. During the brief royal rule they were reunited to Pennsylvania. Some years later, however, owing to fresh difficulties, Penn provided for separate legislatures, an arrangement which went into effect in 1703. From that time, though having the same governor, the colonies were separate. Delaware State was declared to be the official name when a constitution was adopted in 1776.



CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND INDIANS.

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45. The Condition of the Colonists. (1700.) — Cut off from the mother country by a wide expanse of ocean, communication with the colonies was slow and hazardous. From the accession of James I. to that of William and Mary, England had been the scene of religious and political revolutions; so absorbing were the various questions at home, that little time was spent in considering the interest of far-away colonies, or even for thinking about them. Those who were persecuted at home, or who were weary of the strife in church and in state, looked upon America as a place of exile or of safety from danger. In this way it came about that, except spasmodically, the colonies were left much to themselves. The result was self-development and the growth of self-dependence; the colonies made their own laws, subject, it is true, to the veto of the governor or of the crown, but this was not very often exercised. The colonists spoke of themselves as Englishmen, and were loyal to the king; they claimed the rights of Englishmen, however, and resented any infringement of their rights. At first the settlements were widely separated from each other, but as population increased they began to see that in many things they had a common interest, and while local jealousy was strong and continued long after the Revolution, a bond of union also existed. The first tendency to united action sprang from a common dread of the Indians.

46. Relations between the Colonists and the Indians. — The Indian was a savage, and with all the instincts of savage life; he was suspicious and crafty, and he had by this time changed somewhat in his treatment of the colonists. He had learned *the use of firearms and of* various tools; he had learned to

drink spirits, and he had also been taught by experience that the white man generally tried to cheat him out of his lands, or in other ways, and when an Indian suffered an injury at the hands of one settler he considered it perfectly legitimate to revenge himself on another. The example of the Dutch, of Baltimore, and of William Penn and others,[1] shows that the fault lay with the whites; for where the natives were treated well and with common justice, there was little or no trouble, but new comer and native lived in harmony with each other. The number of Indians in the country north of the Gulf of Mexico at the time of the beginning of its settlement by the Europeans has been variously estimated. Careful students are inclined to believe that they numbered about 500,000, and east of the Mississippi River less than 250,000. They had suffered greatly from wars with each other, and still more from disease, so that much of the land was really uninhabited



AN INDIAN CHIEF.
(From a drawing in Hariot's Narrative, 1585.)

[1] "The Hudson Bay Company for exactly two centuries, from 1670 to 1870, held a charter for the monopoly of trade with the Indians here over an immense extent of territory. . . . During that whole period, allowing for rare casualties, not a single act of hostility occurred between the traders and the *natives*." — *Narrative and Critical History of America*, i. 297.

in the early part of the seventeenth century; but accustomed to roam from place to place in search of game, they considered the hunting grounds their own, and naturally resisted seizure of them by the whites.[1]

47. John Eliot. (**1661.**) — A few of the settlers wished to convert the Indian to Christianity and to better his condition. Among these was John Eliot, known as the Apostle to the Indians, who translated the Bible for their benefit. This book, one of the earliest literary works in America, was published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1663, the New Testament having been published in 1661. At Harvard College, too, there was provision made for instruction of the Indian youth, but these things were the exception, especially in the earliest days.



AN INDIAN WOMAN.
(From a drawing in Hariot's Narrative, 1585.)

48. Situation and Growth of the English Colonies. (**1700.**) — The English had gained possession of the choicest parts of

[1] When the great amount of land which is necessary to support man in the hunter stage is considered, the above estimate does not seem out of the way. Contrary to a rather common notion, it is likely that the Indians are now slowly increasing in numbers. According to the Census of 1890 there were, *exclusive of Alaska, 249,273 Indians* in the United States.

the new world; advantages of situation, climate, fertility of soil, abundance of navigable streams and safe harbors were theirs; in short, everything which might help the development of a hardy, industrious, and energetic race. "There is no area in either of the Americas, or for that matter in the world outside of Europe, where it would have been possible to plant English colonies, that would have been found so suitable for the purpose."

More than any other of the colonizing nations, the English came to seek homes in the new world, and in consequence turned their attention to improving their surroundings and bettering their condition in every way that seemed possible to them. It was due to no one thing that they increased faster than others in numbers, in power, and in wealth, but to a combination of many things. Notwithstanding all their advantages, it was long before they occupied more than a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast; for the settlers were very few in number, they were poor, and many of them ignorant; the settlements were widely separated from each other, and even in 1750 comparatively little was known of the country west of the Alleghanies.

Their competitors for the soil of the new country were the French, who held Nova Scotia, Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi valley to the sea, and the Spaniards, who held Florida, Texas, and the valley of the Rio Grande. Such was the condition of affairs in 1700.

49. Pequot War. (1636.) — As the settlements increased, the whites encroached upon the lands of the Indians, who naturally resented such action. The first serious war was with the Pequots, in 1636; this was waged almost exclusively within the bounds of Connecticut. Massachusetts aided the *settlers in Connecticut*, and by the aid also of the Narragan-

setts the Pequots were almost exterminated. Roger Williams had prevented the Narragansetts from fighting on the side of their brethren, and had also tried to persuade the Pequots to keep peace. One important result of the Pequot war was to make the colonists see the advantage to be gained from a union for the common defence. Accordingly, Rhode Island proposed that a union of the colonies should be formed for protection against the Indians, also that the Indians should be treated



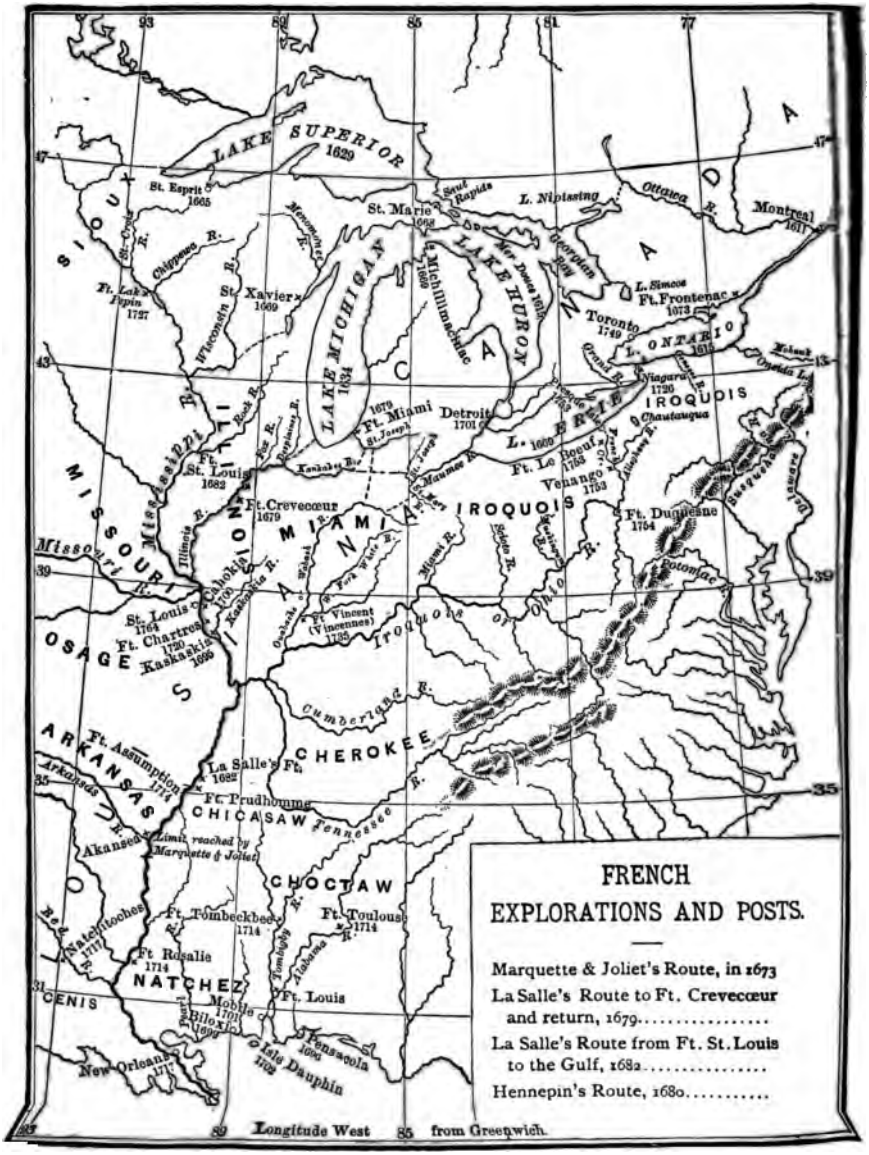
THE MYLES STANDISH HOUSE. BUILT 1666.

with justice. The colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, being liable to attacks from both the Indians and the Dutch, were very willing to make such a league, but Massachusetts was still unwilling to join hands with those who had fled from her borders and those whom for various reasons she had expelled from her limits.

50. The United Colonies of New England. (**1643.**) — In 1643, however, a league was formed under the title of "The United Colonies of New England." By the terms of the agreement, the *colonies, while retaining* their individual independence,

were each to appoint two commissioners to meet regularly at different towns to "hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of our war or peace" and things of common interest. The association was stated to be for "offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions"; its existence was necessary because of the "outrages" of the Indians, as well as "distractions in England," which prevented the colonies from seeking the advice and getting the protection which at other times they might well expect. Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut joined in the league, which lasted until 1684. This union was not of as much practical benefit as might have been expected, but it was of great value in teaching the colonists that a union was possible, and as forming a plan for future modification. It did not accomplish more because the colonists, already accustomed to self-government, did not like to give up any of their privileges; the settlements, moreover, were far apart, and Massachusetts was overbearing and dictatorial.

51. King Philip's War. (1675-1676.) — King Philip's war was the most severe conflict with the Indians. It was begun by a chief of that name who lived at Mt. Hope, near where Bristol, Rhode Island, now stands. His father, Massasoit, had been a firm friend of the Pilgrims, and remained friendly forty years. But Philip was jealous and suspicious of the English, and became their bitter enemy. He nursed his revengeful feelings twelve years, and then attacked Swanzey, burning the houses and murdering the inhabitants. Other tribes joined him, and within a few weeks attacks were made upon the settlements, in 1675, along a line of about two hundred miles. The war lasted two years, during which time twelve or thirteen settlements were destroyed, several *hundred settlers lost* their lives, and many families were separated, *different* members being carried into captivity. The



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND POSTS.

Marquette & Joliet's Route, in 1673

La Salle's Route to Ft. Crevecœur and return, 1679.....

La Salle's Route from Ft. St. Louis to the Gulf, 1682.....

Hennepin's Route, 1680.....

Indians were treated with great barbarity. Philip's child and other captives were sold to the Bermudas into slavery; "death or slavery was the penalty for all known or suspected to have been concerned in shedding English blood." King Philip was finally killed, and the war came to an end.

52. The Dutch; the French. (**1605–1682.**) — But the Indians were not the only enemies the English settlers had. The Dutch in New Netherland were a continual menace to the Connecticut and New Haven colonies, while all the settlements had a common enemy in the French. The latter held possession of the territory west of the English settlements, though the English claimed ownership of the lands westward to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1605 (sect. 8) the French succeeded in making a permanent colony in Acadie (Nova Scotia) at Port Royal (Annapolis); in 1608 Champlain founded Quebec, and later explored the beautiful lake which still bears his name. While the English were making new homes for themselves, and working out the problems of local self-government along the Atlantic coast, the French were pushing their way through the St. Lawrence valley, and along the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. The great motives which impelled the French were both commercial and missionary. Wherever the fur trader might go, or the soldier might be sent, there went also the Roman Catholic priest, trying to convert the native to Christianity. No difficulties, no dangers, were too great to deter him from his pious mission. Of the explorers, the Jesuit Marquette and the fur trader Joliet reached the Mississippi in 1673, and another explorer, La Salle, after discovering the Ohio, pushed on to the Mississippi and followed it to its mouth (1682), claiming for the *French monarch the vast* territory which he had traversed,

and calling the land that stretched westward and northward from the mouth of the great river, Louisiana in honor of his king, Louis XIV. Hennepin, a Jesuit, one of La Salle's party, went north and explored the Mississippi River as far as the Falls of St. Anthony. La Salle, while on a fruitless expedition in Texas, was killed, in 1687, by traitors among his followers.

53. French and Indians; Strength and Weakness of the French. — The policy of the French toward the Indians was quite different from that of the English. The latter regarded the Indians as enemies, to be distrusted and looked upon as inferiors. The former, on the contrary, treated them as equals, intermarried with them, tried to convert them, and in every way endeavored to gain and to retain their friendship. The result was that the French had no trouble with the natives, except with those who took the side of the English. Thus a danger never absent from the minds of the English was almost unknown to the French, who were able to accomplish far more than would otherwise have been possible with the number of men at their command.

As one principal object of the French was to control the fur trade, part of their plan was to connect Canada with the mouth of the Mississippi River by a line of forts and trading posts. And they did in fact control the vast region west of the Alleghanies and east of the Mississippi in this way. New France, as they called this territory, was an immense empire of itself, and, surrounding the English possessions on the land side, was a constant menace to their safety, especially as the two great water-ways, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, were in the hands of the French. The weakness of the French colonists consisted partly in the fact that their numbers were so few, but chiefly "that the settlers rep-

resented a colonizing scheme based on trading posts; while their neighbors established and fought for homes in the English sense." The strength of the French consisted in their policy towards the Indians, in their excellent generals and soldiers, and in the fact that they were united; while the English were divided among themselves, were under different governments, and were full of local jealousies.

54. English Civil War; Effect upon the Colonies. (1643–1660.) —The difficulties in England already referred to (sect. 50) culminated in the civil war. The New England colonies took the success of the Parliamentary party very quietly; for being Puritans, they naturally sympathized with their brethren in their old home; but most of the colonies were careful not to commit themselves to either side, and in Maryland alone was there anything like a struggle. It was soon found that Parliament intended to assume all the powers which had been claimed by the king. But the colonists had no idea of yielding any fuller obedience to the new government than they had yielded to the old. In fact, through the neglect with which they had been treated, they had learned that they could manage very well without a king or Parliament, so far as making their own laws was concerned. Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, seems to have fully appreciated the value and importance of the colonies, for under his rule no attempt was made to interfere with them.

55. The Restoration; Policy of the Government. (1660–1684.) — With the restoration of Charles II. in 1660 a new order of things came in. The Navigation Acts regulating the trade of the colonies, which had been passed by Parliament in 1651, but which had not been hitherto enforced, were now put into action. The English fleet which seized the Dutch colony of New Netherland (sect. 33) brought

over four commissioners whose business it was to examine into the state of the New England colonies. Rhode Island, which had succeeded in getting very liberal charters from the king (sect. 19), acknowledged their authority, but Massachusetts held to her charter, and would have little to do with them; and finally, in 1684, the charter was annulled by the English courts, and Massachusetts became a royal colony. Just as this policy was made known to the people, the king died and was succeeded by James II., who was a strong believer in the royal prerogative. By the "forfeiture of the charter" (so-called) the king claimed supreme power, and he determined to unite all the northern English colonies under one governor.

56. Rule of Andros. (**1686–1689.**) — In 1686 the charters of Connecticut and of Rhode Island were demanded, and the latter given up. In 1686 Sir Edmund Andros, already known to the colonists as an arbitrary man, was sent out as the governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Hampshire, and Maine. In 1687, it is said, Andros went to Hartford and demanded the charter of Connecticut; in the discussion which followed, the candles were suddenly blown out, and when they were relighted, the document was not to be found. In the confusion it had been seized and hidden in a hollow oak, which henceforth bore the name of the Charter Oak. After the revolution in England the charter was brought out in 1689 and went into force again. The oak tree stood until 1856, when it was blown down. Like many other stories of the earlier days there are strong grounds for doubting the accuracy of the tradition. In 1688 Andros was made governor of New York and New Jersey as well, and thus all the colonies north of the Delaware were united under one rule in accordance with the king's plan.

As soon as the news of the succession of William and Mary reached New England, the men of Boston imprisoned Andros, who, at command of King William, was sent to England.

57. **Restoration of Charters; Massachusetts.** (1691.) — Connecticut and Rhode Island had their charters restored, but Massachusetts did not regain hers. A new charter was, however, given in 1691, which united the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia. By this charter the governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary were appointed by the crown, while the people elected the representatives, but all laws were subject to an immediate veto by the governor, as well as one by the crown within three years. The governor could also "convene, adjourn, or dissolve" the legislature at his pleasure. These restrictions made Massachusetts, though having a charter, really a royal colony.

58. **Intolerance in the Colonies.** — One of the most difficult things to do is to so imagine one's self back in the past as to understand the life, circumstances, and the modes of thought of the men and women of an earlier day. In no history is this more difficult than in the history of the early settlers of America. In the sixteenth century one of the main objects which the colonists set before them was to spread the Gospel, and yet so intolerant were they, that with the single exception of Rhode Island there was not a colony which did not provide punishment, sometimes death, for persons who differed from those in power in regard to religious opinion. Even in Pennsylvania, belief in Christ was essential to the holding of office. In fact, in the seventeenth century such a thing as toleration was hardly thought of. The Puritans came in order to find a place where they could worship God as they pleased, but they had no intention of letting others worship as they pleased. We have already seen how Roger Williams

and Anne Hutchinson were compelled to leave Massachusetts, but that was not all; it was not until 1680 that Baptists could worship with freedom in the colony.

59. The Quakers. (**1656–1661.**) — But the special object of dislike seems to have been the Friends, or Quakers. In July, 1656, two Quaker women came to Boston. They were put in jail, their books burnt, and "after having been about five weeks prisoners . . . [the] master of a vessel was bound in one hundred pound bond to carry them back." In the same year a law was passed forbidding any ship-master from bringing any Quakers into the colony, under a penalty of £100, and if any such were brought, the captain was compelled to take them away again. The Quakers themselves were meanwhile to be sent to the house of correction "to be severely whipped," "kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them." But this did not stop their coming, and so in 1658 a new law provided for the banishment of visiting and resident Quakers and imposed death as a penalty for returning after being banished. Under this law Mary Dyer and three others were hanged on Boston Common. During the persecution, fines, imprisonment, whipping, keeping in irons, branding with the letter H (heretic), boring through the tongue with a hot iron, whipping at "the cart's tail" from village to village, and death were the punishments inflicted. At last orders came from the crown that such proceedings must be *stopped.*



WHIPPING AT THE CART'S TAIL.

60. Witchcraft Delusion. (1648–1693.) — The witchcraft delusion is something almost incomprehensible to educated people at the present day. Belief in witchcraft came down from very early times, and nearly all the nations of Europe had laws against it. As late as 1665 the English Parliament passed a law punishing witchcraft with death, under which not a few suffered. It was not strange that the delusion had its day in America. As early as 1648 a supposed witch was executed in Boston, but the great excitement relative to the matter was at Salem in 1692. More than fifty persons were variously persecuted, and twenty, including a clergyman, had been put to death before the frenzy spent itself. It was almost impossible for the accused to defend himself, and a charge was equivalent to conviction. While the excitement lasted, the delusion took hold of all ranks and classes, even the most highly educated; fortunately the time was short, the good sense of a few revolted against the injustice, and the indiscriminate accusations opened the eyes of others, so that in about six months (February, 1693), there was a general opening of the prison doors and a cessation of charges. One of the judges who had condemned a number to death annually kept a day *of fasting as a token* of his repentance. The witchcraft



THE PILLORY.

delusion in America has attracted so much attention that it is often overlooked that there were many more executions for witchcraft in England, where the delusion lasted much longer, five persons having been put to death on that account as late as 1722.

61. Colonial Beliefs and Customs. — It must not be forgotten that the colonists carried their customs and many of their laws with them from their old homes, and that very different ideas of the duty of the state towards its citizens were entertained in that day. Almost everybody believed that it was legitimate in the state to regulate the dress, the habits, the wages, and in short almost everything which related to its citizens and their interests. The laws regarding Sunday observance were very severe; everything except that which was absolutely necessary was positively forbidden, and infraction of the law was punishable by fine or otherwise. Lying, scolding, swearing, getting drunk, all were criminal, and each had its appointed punishment. Among the penalties was, for a common scold, the ducking-stool. It was a chair fastened to a long plank, the middle of the plank resting on a cross-piece of wood; this was taken to the water's edge, the woman was tied in the chair, and then she was dipped in the water as often as seemed necessary to inflict an adequate punishment. Again, we hear of persons being placed in the pillory, or in the stocks; of making the culprit wear a letter on the breast indicative of the



A DRUNKARD.

crime, such as D, for drunkard; of branding on the hand; of cropping the ears; of boring the tongue; of flogging on the bare back in public. Though the Puritans of New England were the most rigid in these matters, they were not alone, for the other colonies have to bear their share of any blame that may be given to the beliefs and practices of those days.[1]

62. Commerce; Piracy. — The weights and measures and the money used in the English colonies were naturally those with which the colonists had been familiar in their old homes.

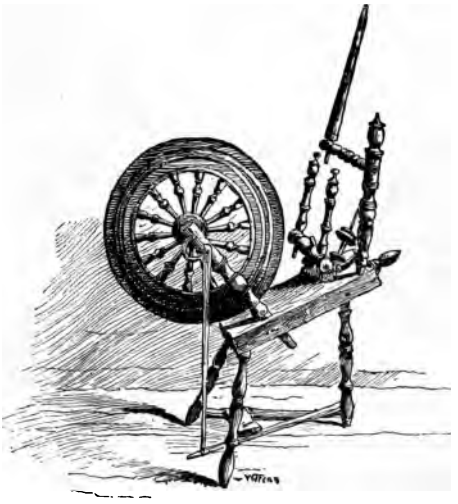


PINE-TREE SHILLING.

Almost all of the colonies after a time coined money of their own; of the coins the Massachusetts pine-tree shilling, as it was called from the pine-tree represented on one side of the coin, may be taken as an example. There was comparatively little commerce in the colonies for some time, but gradually a profitable trade sprung up with the West Indies, with the mother country, and among the colonists themselves. These commercial enterprises naturally fell for the most part to New England on account of the sterility of her soil, which compelled her citizens to turn to other employments than agriculture. The New Englanders became great ship-build-

[1] It is hardly necessary to say that many of the so-called Blue Laws of *Connecticut are an invention*, and never existed except in the imagination.

ers, and among the most skilful fishermen and whalers that the world has ever known, and their vessels were seen on every sea. Piracy on the high seas was then no uncommon thing, and the pirates committed great depredations upon commerce. One of the most notorious and most daring of the pirates was Captain William (or Robert) Kidd. He was supposed to have buried treasure at various places on the Atlantic coast, and some, even to the present time, have sought to find his hidden wealth. Before the middle of the eighteenth century piracy had largely passed away.



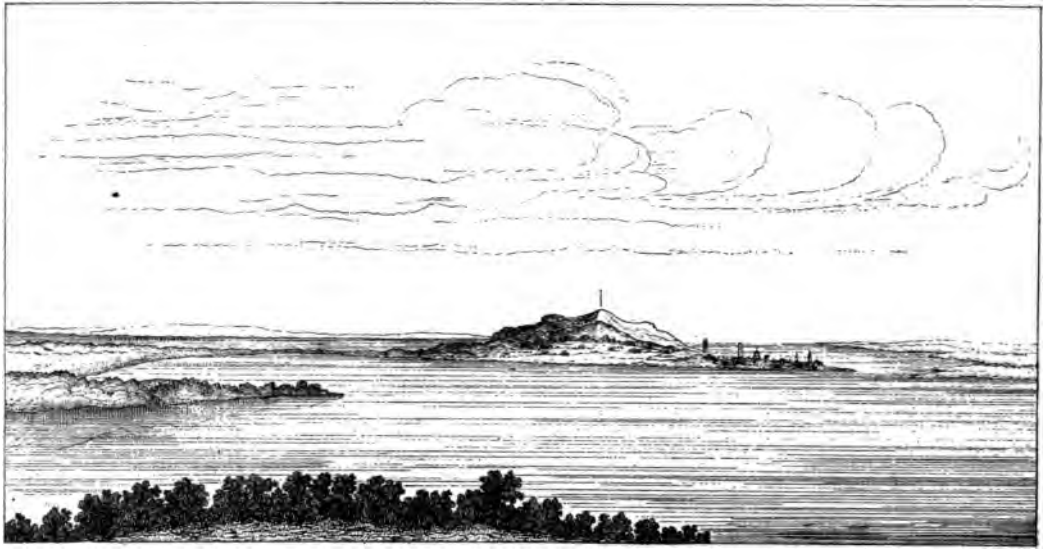
A COLONIAL FLAX-WHEEL.

63. Social Life in the Colonies; Slavery. — In social life the colonists underwent many privations, but perhaps we of this day overestimate them. In all household conveniences the people of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, even in Europe, were sadly deficient according to our notions, and except in the case of the earliest settlers there was not so much difference between Europe and America. Roads were bad, but so they were in England; tea and coffee were scarce in the early days, but so they were in Europe. Manufactories were few, being discouraged by the home government, for fear of injuring the export trade from England; in *every family,* therefore, there was a spinning-wheel, and the

home-spun linen was long the pride of the housewives: and woollen cloth was also woven for the fathers and sons. Corn-huskings and apple-bees were times of amusement as well as of work; but in New England amusements were few and holidays seldom. In the southern colonies life was taken more easily; horse-racing and cock-fighting, especially in Virginia, were common diversions. In Virginia and Maryland the planters formed an upper class which rather looked down upon those who had to labor with their hands, and in New York the old Dutch patroons held somewhat similar ideas. Slavery existed in all the colonies, though in New England and the middle colonies there were few slaves and the number was decreasing. Already in Pennsylvania in 1688 Pastorius and the Friends in Germantown had made a public written protest[1] against slavery, and in nearly all the colonies the system was regarded as an evil to be gotten rid of as soon as practicable.

64. Colleges Founded; Newspapers. (1636–1704.) — In the earliest days, the clergymen were almost the only educated men, but the colonists had shown their estimation of the value of education by founding, in 1636, at Cambridge (then Newtown), a high school or college, to which John Harvard, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, left his library and about four thousand dollars, a large sum in those days. The college was named in honor of the giver of this noble foundation. In Virginia, the College of William and Mary, named after the reigning king and queen of England, was established in 1692. In 1700 ten Congregational ministers met and each gave ten books toward the library of a new college to be established in Connecticut; such was the

[1] "It is noteworthy as the first protest made by a religious body against *negro slavery.*"



BOSTON ABOUT 1660.

beginning of Yale College. Books were few, and so were newspapers, the first newspaper being the *Boston News Letter*, established in 1704.

65. Industry of the Colonists; Intercourse between the Colonies. — The people generally of the English colonies were industrious; everything that they could make for themselves they made, and made well. Probably in no part of the world was there greater industry seen, and nowhere were the results more satisfactory.

For many years after the settlement of the various colonies, communication between them was very difficult and consequently infrequent. It was much easier to go to England from Boston, than to go from Boston to Virginia by land. The stage coaches were lumbering vehicles and were little improved as time went on. As the colonies increased in population, intercourse became easier and more frequent. But it took years to show the colonists that they had common interests. Among the influences which tended to bring the settlements together were the dangers from the Indians, from the French on the north and west, and from the Spaniards on the south and southwest. But even this bond was a weak one, so distrustful were the colonists of each other.



A STAGE COACH, 1731.

66. Intercolonial Wars; King William's War; First Congress of the Colonies. (1689–1697.) — The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in Europe a time of almost constant war, and

it was natural that the quarrels should be carried across the Atlantic and fought out in the new world as well as in the old. So when England and France went to war in 1689, their respective colonies did the same. This was the first intercolonial war, and is known as King William's War from the ruling king of England, William III. The French with their Indian allies attacked the settlements on the edge of the northern colonies; and at Schenectady, New York, and at Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, terrible massacres took place, and along the border of civilization midnight attacks, hairbreadth escapes, wives and children taken into captivity, and whole families tomahawked, were the results of this cruel and barbarous conflict. The common danger aroused the colonists, and by invitation of Massachusetts, a congress of commissioners met, April, 1690, at New York, to discuss affairs, and to try to arrange some plan of attack and defence. Only Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York responded, but this meeting is interesting as the first attempt at a congress of all the English colonies in America. It was determined to attack the French by land and by sea. The land expedition was a total failure, never even reaching Canada; but the naval expedition took the fortified town of Port Royal, and conquered the province of Acadie, in which it was situated, though failing in the attempt against Quebec and Montreal. At length, in 1697, by the peace of Ryswick, hostilities came to an end, while by the terms of the peace territories were restored as they were before the war, much to the chagrin of those who had won Acadie.

67. Second Intercolonial War; Queen Anne's War. (1702–1713.) — The second intercolonial war was known in Europe as the war of the Spanish Succession, but in the colonies as Queen Anne's War. This conflict was between England,

Holland, and Germany on the one side, against Spain and France on the other. The Five Nations (Indians) who lived between the French and the English settlements, having made peace with the French, did not take part in this struggle, so New England was the scene of the warfare, though the most southern colonies suffered somewhat from the Spaniards. Again was Port Royal taken from the French by the united efforts of British and colonial troops, and its name was changed, in honor of the queen, to Annapolis. An expedition against Quebec failed disastrously. After eleven years, peace was made, by the terms of which England retained most of Acadie, which became henceforth Nova Scotia, the possession of which gave England control of the fisheries. During this war Massachusetts suffered greatly from the Indians. Deerfield having been surprised, many persons were massacred, and over a hundred were carried into captivity. Haverhill also was the scene of a terrible attack. Notwithstanding the peace, there were for a long time Indian wars, which were marked with the usual dreadful scenes. During the conflict, the Tuscaroras, a tribe of North Carolina, having suffered at the hands of the settlers whom they had attempted to exterminate, migrated northward and joined the Five Nations in northern and western New York, which now became the "Six Nations" (sect. 2).

68. Third Intercolonial War; King George's War. (1744–1748.) — The third war, King George's War, was again a conflict between England and France. This lasted about four years, and the only important incident was the capture of the strongly fortified town of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, by the combined force of colonial and British troops. This place was considered the Gibraltar of America, and *the daring, the bravery*, and the perseverance of the

colonial troops gave the colonists a reliance upon their own resources which they never forgot nor lost. To the disgust of the colonies, Louisburg was returned to the French in 1748, on the making of peace.

69. Lessons of the Intercolonial Wars. — In the three wars which have been described, New England bore the brunt of the conflict and suffered the heaviest losses, though in the expedition against Louisburg several of the other colonies had taken part. The colonies had suffered heavy losses in property and life, and gained but little, the conquest of Nova Scotia and the control of the Newfoundland fisheries by the English being the chief. They had, however, learned two things: (1) That they would have to protect themselves, England being ready to sacrifice their interests at any time for her own advantage; and (2) that in efficiency, the colonial, or, as they were often called, the provincial troops, were quite equal to the British regulars, while the provincial officers were often superior to the British officers.

70. Slave Trade. (1713–1776.) — A notable instance of the disregard paid to the wishes of the colonists by the mother country was one of the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, at the end of Queen Anne's War, 1713. This was an agreement known as the "Assiento," by which England secured the right to supply the Spanish-American colonies with negroes from Africa, and in doing this the company, in which the queen was a stockholder, also supplied the English colonies with slaves. It is estimated that in this way about 300,000 negro slaves were brought to the British settlements before 1776. Again and again had colonial legislatures passed acts forbidding the slave trade, only to have them *vetoed by the royal* governors or by the home government.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

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71. The French and the English Colonies. (1750.) — By the middle of the eighteenth century it became evident that there would be, before many years had gone by, a struggle *between the European settlers* for the control of the North

American continent, and that the great conflict would be between the French and English. Up to this time the English settlers had hugged the Atlantic coast, only a few penetrating beyond the Alleghanies. Beyond those mountains, the region from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico was held by the French, who, to secure it, had built about sixty forts. The skill with which the position of these posts was selected is shown by the fact that many of them have since become cities or towns, as Fort Wayne, Detroit, Toledo, Natchez, and New Orleans. The French colonists had made great efforts to establish settlements in the Mississippi valley, but, with the exception of New Orleans and Mobile, they had not been very successful. The home government had neither encouraged emigration, nor given much aid to the colonies; indeed nothing helpful could have been expected from the corrupt government of Louis XIV. After one hundred and fifty years of occupation, the population of the French colonies did not exceed 125,000, while their English rivals probably numbered 1,250,000. The French possessions were held by a string of forts, through a country almost as wild as when the continent was discovered by the Cabots. The bulk of the population was in Canada, and with the exception of New Orleans and one or two other places, there was hardly any other real settlement outside of Canada.

72. Ohio Company; Activity of the French; Washington. (**1753.**) — The English in their charter had claimed the continent westward to the South Seas, as the Pacific was then called; the French claimed all the territory west of the Alleghanies, by right of discovery and exploration; while the Indians claimed the whole, by right of occupation; but neither the French nor the English regarded any claims that clashed with their personal interests. The conflicting claims

to this vast tract had not caused trouble until 1748, when a land company, known as the Ohio Company, was organized by English and Virginian speculators, whose object was to induce emigrants to move to the lands in what was really a part of Pennsylvania, but which Virginia claimed under her charter. Explorers who visited the region brought back glowing accounts of the country, and surveyors were sent out to survey and open roads. As soon as the French heard of this movement, they began to increase the number of their forts and to open a second line nearer the English border. They built one at Presque Isle (Erie), also at Venango, and at Franklin, Pennsylvania, and at many other points; they seized the company's surveyors, and destroyed an English post on the Miami. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington, then a land surveyor, and only twenty-one years of age,[1] to carry an official letter to the French, protesting against the occupation of lands belonging to Virginia. Washington was also ordered to ascertain the disposition of the Indians towards the English, and, if possible, gain their friendship.

73. Washington's Expedition; Surrenders to French; French and Indian War. (1754.) — The trip was one of great danger, but after having experienced more than one hairbreadth escape, Washington returned in safety. The accounts which he brought back amounted to a declaration of war, for the French flatly refused to give up their posts. This was in 1753. Early in 1754 the Virginia legislature voted men and money to protect the posts which had been begun in the disputed territory. Washington was placed second in command, but soon after the expedition had started, he became

[1] George Washington was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, 22d February *(11th, Old Style), 1732.*

chief, by the death of the superior officer. His aim was to protect a fort which the Ohio Company had begun at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. The French were as fully aware as the English of the value of the position, and pushing ahead, took the post and built a fort at the place themselves, naming it Fort Du Quesne. This was where the city of Pittsburg now is. Advancing to meet the Virginian forces, they were successful in compelling Washington to surrender, July 4th, 1754, though on the honorable terms that he and his men should be allowed to return home. Previously, in attacking a small body of French and Indians, Washington had begun the active hostilities of a war full of more than the usual suffering, loss, and horror, and whose results have hardly ever been surpassed in their far-reaching influence. This war, known in America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years' War, differed from previous colonial wars in the following particulars: that actual hostilities were begun in America; that the conflict was a struggle for supremacy between the Latin and English races; that it decided the question which should be the colonizing nation of the world; and that, before its conclusion, most of the nations of Europe were involved.

74. Albany Convention; Franklin's Plan of Union. (1754.) — The colonies realized as they never had done before that there was a common danger threatening them, and that upon the conflict, which they saw was imminent, depended the question of their expansion, perhaps of their freedom. The cause of Virginia was felt to be a common one, and all the colonies voted to aid her. The other wars had been brought on mainly by the quarrels of England and France, about matters in which the colonies had little concern; this affected *their most* vital interests. The English government advised

the colonies to unite in repelling the danger. In 1754 delegates from New England, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York met at Albany to consider the state of affairs, and meet delegates from the Six Nations of the Iroquois, whom they hoped to gain over to the English side, or to induce to remain neutral.

At this convention of twenty-five men were some that afterwards became well known, among them Benjamin Franklin. Here, also, a plan of union, drawn up by Franklin, called the Albany plan, was adopted, and forwarded to the colonial legislatures and to England. But the former unanimously rejected it on the ground that it gave too much power to the crown, while the English government rejected it on the ground that it gave too much power to the colonists. The meeting, however, did much good in bringing the colonies closer together.

75. Fourth Intercolonial War. (1754.) — Though there had been no formal declaration of war, both England and France sent additional troops to be ready for the inevitable conflict. Between the English colonies and the French possessions there was a belt of forest and mountains which was almost impassable for troops, and even for small bodies of soldiers. The lines of attack were of course along the natural lines of communication. These were: (1) The River St. Lawrence; (2) Lakes George and Champlain; (3) Niagara River. On these lines, Louisburg protected the approach to the St. Lawrence, and threatened the fisheries, and was also the base of the attack for the French against the English. Quebec, the most strongly fortified post in America, unless Louisburg be excepted, was the key to the St. Lawrence and the valley of the river; Forts Crown Point and Ticonderoga defended the Lake Champlain route; while Fort Niagara

controlled the Upper Lakes and the northern part of the Mississippi valley. Fort Du Quesne controlled the middle region on the west, and so long as it was held by the French, the middle colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia were in danger of an attack from both French and Indians.

76. Braddock's Expedition; his Defeat. (1755.) — The English sent out as commander-in-chief General Edward Braddock, and it was determined to attack the French in Acadie, at Crown Point, at Niagara, and at Fort Du Quesne. Braddock led the expedition against the latter place himself. He had already been warned by Benjamin Franklin against ambushes and Indian methods of warfare, and although Washington, who was one of his aids, as well as other provincial officers, repeated the warning, he obstinately persisted in the European method of conducting a campaign, with the result of a most disastrous rout near Fort Du Quesne, in which he was mortally wounded, the regular troops utterly defeated, and many stores lost. Washington, upon whom the command devolved, conducted the retreat skilfully, but besides the losses from the expedition, much of the western part of Virginia and Pennsylvania was ravaged by the French and Indians.

77. Expedition against Acadie; War formally declared. (1756.) — The same year, 1755, an expedition against the part of Acadie still held by the French, principally what is now New Brunswick, was successful. During this campaign occurred the expulsion of the French peasants from Grand Pré, which has been made the basis of Longfellow's "Evangeline." This action of the British in expelling so many persons from their homes has been the cause of much denunciation. It was a cruel thing to do, but it was not done until almost "every resource of patience and perseverance had been tried in vain."

It seemed to be a military necessity. The Acadians were simple-minded, ignorant peasants, who could not be made to see that, their country having passed under the rule of England, they could no longer aid the French, but were bound to act as subjects of the English king. The unfortunate exiles were distributed among the English colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia, and eventually many found their way to Louisiana, "where their descendants still form a numerous and distinct part of the population."

The expedition against Crown Point, in which the English were aided by the Indian allies, was also, after some reverses, successful, but an expedition against Fort Niagara was given up. In 1756 war was formally declared in Europe, and hostilities spread to the continent and to the colonies of France and England in India, so "black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other on the Great Lakes of North America," alike ignorant of the real causes which set them at variance.

78. The French at first Successful; William Pitt. (1757.) — The Marquis of Montcalm was now appointed commander-in-chief of the French, and he showed himself to be the bravest and most skilful officer that had yet appeared in America. In a short time he had driven the English out of the disputed territory, gained the Indians for the French, and was preparing a strong fleet at Louisburg to attack Nova Scotia and New England; so, by the end of 1757, France seemed to have the advantage all along the disputed lines. Hitherto the British had sent out inefficient officers, who disregarded the advice of the provincial officers and looked down upon the colonial troops and their methods, but in 1757 William Pitt became "Secretary of State," and practically Prime Minister. At once the *influence* of a strong man in the government was

felt over the whole world where the English had any interests. His clear head enabled him to see the important points to be gained, his skill in the knowledge of men led him to appoint the right man in the right place, and his judgment showed him what course was best to be pursued. "No man," said a soldier of the time, "ever entered Mr. Pitt's closet who did not feel himself braver when he came out than when he went in." No part of his policy was more successful than his treatment of the American colonies. He saw that the struggle between England and France was to be fought in the colonies, and he acted accordingly. Far from ignoring the colonial officers and troops, he treated them with consideration and favor, and though the command was still to remain in the hands of officers from England, abler men were sent out. The result of the policy was soon evident. Again, of necessity, the same lines of attack were chosen.

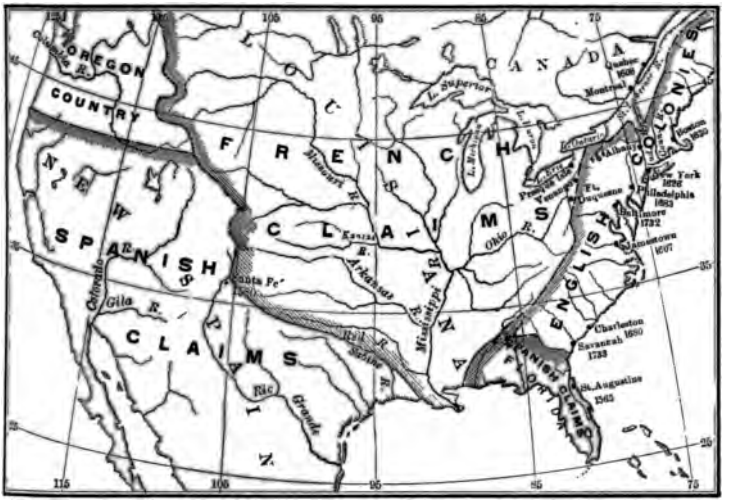
79. English Plans; General Wolfe. (1759.) — In 1758 an expedition against Louisburg captured that stronghold. Later in the year Fort Du Quesne, deserted by the French on the approach of the British troops, was occupied, and renamed Fort Pitt, afterwards to become Pittsburg. In this expedition Washington took a most important part. But an attack on Ticonderoga failed after a heavy loss of life.

In the year 1759 it was resolved to attack the French by three routes: the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, and Niagara. General James Wolfe, who had shown conspicuous bravery and skill at Louisburg, was entrusted with the command of an expedition against Quebec, and it was expected that the two other expeditions, if successful, would join him in the attack upon that stronghold; but they were not able to do so. Quebec being the most important place in Canada, *Montcalm was compelled* to draw men for its defence from

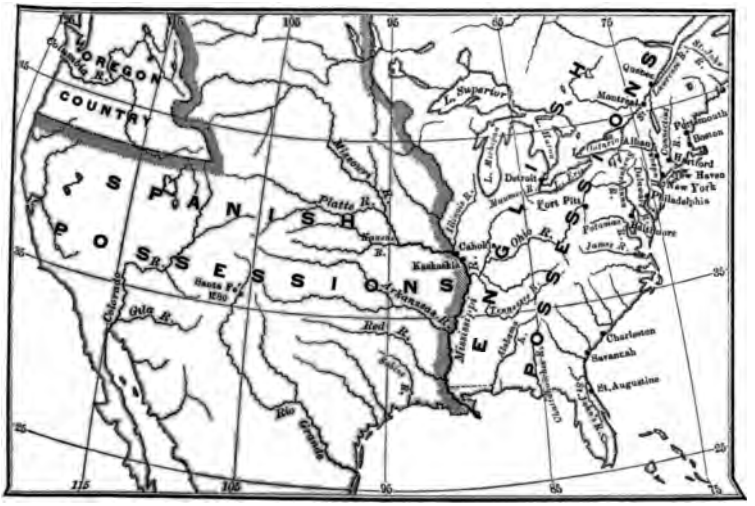
other places, and thus weaken his lines. The small number of the French now told heavily against them; they had a very small population to draw upon for reinforcements, their colonies were poor and weak, and most of the men and supplies for the army had to be brought from abroad — an uncertain source of supply, as the English almost controlled the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

80. **Quebec; English Triumph.** (1759–1763.) — The English, on the contrary, had a population more than ten times as great as the French, and all their supplies could be obtained easily and cheaply from their own homes; their settlements, moreover, were compact and easily accessible. It was impossible not to foresee the result; only gross carelessness could prevent final English success. But the English had to meet a brave and skilful leader in Montcalm. More than once Wolfe was almost ready to give up the attempt to take Quebec. Standing upon a high cliff, between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, the town was protected on three sides by water, and on the fourth rose precipitous rocks, which seemed inaccessible to an attacking force; but Wolfe determined to scale them and gain a position on the Heights of Abraham nearly west of the city. This was accomplished one dark night, and so he was able to meet the French on equal ground. In the battle which followed, both Wolfe and Montcalm were mortally wounded, the former dying upon the field of battle. Quebec was surrendered; and though the French tried to recapture it, they were unsuccessful, and Montreal, their last stronghold, was taken in 1760. The forts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga and Niagara had been previously captured, so the English were everywhere triumphant. The capture of Quebec was the great turning-*point in American colonial* history.

81. Conditions of Peace; Results of the War. (1763.) — In 1763 peace was made, by which France lost all her possessions in America, except two small islands near Newfoundland, reserved for fishing purposes. To England were given all the possessions east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans, which, with the land immediately around it, was given to France, with all the claims west of the river. Spain gave Florida to England in return for Havana, which a combined force of English and provincials had captured during the war. But France, by a secret treaty, gave New Orleans, and all her claims west of the Mississippi River, to her ally, Spain, in order to compensate her for the loss of Florida. England gave up all claims to lands beyond the Mississippi, which thus became for nearly fifty years the western boundary of English settlements. The North American continent was now divided between England and Spain, the one a strong and the other a weak power, but as the settlements of each were far distant from those of the other, they were not likely to interfere for some time. Thus the English could expand in all directions, and the north, south, and west were without fear of any foe, except the scattered Indian tribes, which were daily becoming less dreaded. The colonists had borne the greater part of the expenses of the war, and felt its horrors most. Most of the money to carry it on had been voted by their own Assemblies, and their own representatives had laid the heavy taxes which were necessary in order to raise the large sums needed. All the colonies had taken part in the struggle, and they had learned to look upon the successes as largely their own. They had become better acquainted with each other, and had also learned their own strength. Through the absence of dangers, they were led more and more to depend upon themselves, and to look *less and less for the* aid of the mother country. Prominent



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1755—AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1763—AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.
(According to Peace of Paris)

Frenchmen and others saw this at the time, and said that, in giving up Canada, France was preparing the way for the independence of the English colonies. Benjamin Franklin, though one of the shrewdest of men, thought otherwise.

82. Conspiracy of Pontiac. (1763–1769.) — Before the English were secure in their new possessions, there was a war with the Indians in 1763–64. This was the result of the conspiracy of Pontiac, an Ottawa chief. He had been an adherent of the French, and could not believe that they were defeated, but thought they would surely return. He succeeded in inducing a number of tribes to make a grand effort to drive out the English. With this object in view, a number of posts were surprised, and garrisons were put to death. For a time it seemed as though there would be a renewal of the horrors of the old Indian wars. But the Indians did not agree among themselves, and peace was finally made in 1766. Pontiac was assassinated by another Indian in 1769.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

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83. English Policy. (1763–1765.) — The colonists now entered upon a new phase of their history, one which was to lead them into independence of the mother country. This was a conclusion few living at the middle of the eighteenth century *could have anticipated*. But it is now seen that such a result

would inevitably follow the policy pursued by the English government. The first step was the claim which the crown made to the territory conquered from the French, particularly that west of the Atlantic settlements, which the colonists felt had been gained chiefly by their own efforts.

Notwithstanding the wars, the colonies had kept on increasing in population and wealth. There were now thirteen of them, and their total population was about 2,000,000. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing, and even manufactures were springing up in various places. England was encumbered with a large debt, the interest on which was a heavy burden. When the British Parliament saw that the colonists had raised so much money to carry on the late war, it naturally thought that the colonists should bear a part of the national burden. The Parliament laid the taxes upon the British people, and it thought it would lay taxes upon the Americans. But there was a great difference between the two cases. In England, law-makers were, or professed to be, elected by the people to represent them, and so the people had a voice in laying their own taxes; but the colonists were not represented in the British Parliament, and so if Parliament laid taxes upon the colonists there would be "taxation without representation," which was contrary to the custom and principles of the colonists. It was only in late years that the matter had assumed any importance, for the colonies had hitherto been so insignificant as to be out of practical consideration.

84. Economic Views of the Eighteenth Century; Navigation Acts. — It is important to remember that in the eighteenth century very different views from those now accepted were held by the most liberal-minded men. It was thought *essential to control and regulate* trade in every way; to close

ports against all foreign shipping was deemed good policy and that colonies existed for the good of the mother country was an axiom of most governments. It was acknowledged even in the colonies that the king had power to veto bills of the colonial legislatures, and that Parliament had the right to regulate all foreign trade.

As long ago as 1651, when England was under the Commonwealth, the Navigation Acts had been passed. These laws, and others passed in 1660, 1663, and 1672, forbade trade with any country but England, or an English colony and required that all commerce should be carried on in either English or colonial vessels, thus shutting out all competition, and forcing all foreign goods to come through the English market and be subject to the English duties. But by 1663 so many ships had been built by the colonists, that to protect the British ship-builders, the colonists were forbidden to import any goods except in British-built ships, unless the ship had been built or bought before October, 1662.

85. Restrictions upon Manufactures. (1699–1761.) — The colonial trade was also burdened with heavy restrictions. In William and Mary's reign there was still further interference in regard to the colonial manufactures which were beginning to be established. In this reign, or later, the exportation of hats, paper, leather, iron, and other articles was absolutely forbidden, and in some cases even their manufacture. It is true that these laws were frequently not enforced, and for many years the government officers either did not attempt to carry them out, or were bribed to ignore them. But in 1761 a serious attempt was made to carry out the Navigation Acts, particularly in relation to illicit trade or smuggling. Under this policy the old acts were enforced, and *to do it the* revenue officers were greatly increased in

number. They found that a great amount of smuggling was carried on, and to stop this and gain evidence concerning it, they applied to the courts for "writs of assistance" to aid them in their search for smuggled goods. These writs were warrants permitting the revenue officers to search any house for goods, on suspicion only. They "governed all men, were returnable nowhere, gave the officers absolute power, and opened every man's house to their entrance." It was most natural that the colonists should look upon them as illegal. James Otis, a young, able, and eloquent lawyer, appeared before the Superior Court of Massachusetts as the people's advocate, and in the course of his argument used the now familiar phrase, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." The judges reserved their decision until they could learn the practice in England relative to the matter, and on finding that such writs were legal and were used in England, they were forced to affirm their legality in America. The question of legality, however, made no difference in respect to the feeling with which they were regarded. It does not appear that the officers ever dared to make use of the writs.

86. Representation in England. (1761.) — In considering the relations between England and the colonies, it must be remembered that the English government at this time was very corrupt, and bribery was recognized, even by the officers of state, as a regular means of securing legislation. The House of Commons no longer represented the English people, for in a population of about 8,000,000, there were less than 175,000 voters. The election districts had not been changed for a very long time, large cities had grown up without any representation at all, and other districts represented a very small population. In one place, Old Sarum, three voters elected *two members of Parliament*. By this means many members of

Parliament were chosen according to the wish of those of th nobility who were large landlords, and controlled the vote of their tenants. As a matter of fact, for a good part of th eighteenth century the House of Commons was ruled by th House of Lords.[1]

Notwithstanding that the British Parliament was so litt of a representative body, it is likely that most of their measur relating to the colonies were fairly in accord with the con mon sentiments of the people, for neither the people nor th Parliament understood the real state of affairs.

87. Stamp Act. (1765.) — Injurious as the navigation law (sect. 84) had been, the colonies did not dispute the right c Parliament to regulate foreign commerce, and in 1764, at th suggestion of George Grenville, then Prime Minister, an ac was passed providing an additional taxation on commerce, i the way of increased duties and also in creased restriction on trade. The news c this act was received with great disfavc in Massachusetts, which was the centre c trade in America, and unavailing remoi strances against the act were sent to En land. In passing the celebrated Stamp Ac in 1765, Parliament went still furthe This was a measure designed to raise revenue in the colonies. The act, passe early in the year, was to go into effect i the fall. Under its provisions every leg document, all marriage certificates, all new papers and almanacs, were to bear a stam before they could be issued, or, in the case of legal papers, b



A STAMP OF 1765.

[1] The great William Pitt entered Parliament (1735) as a member for Ol *Sarum, owing his election* to the influence of the noble landowner of th *district.*

of any force. Such a law affected every one who wished to buy even a newspaper, for he was compelled to pay for the stamp as well as the paper. The value of the stamp varied, according to the circumstances, from one-half penny to twelve pounds. The stamps were not like the modern adhesive ones, but were impressions on the paper like a magistrate's seal.

88. Sons of Liberty; Patrick Henry. (1765.) — There was little opposition to the passage of the act in Parliament, Colonel Isaac Barré making the only strong speech against it. In this speech he repudiated the idea that the colonists owed anything to English care, but claimed that her neglect had rather stimulated them. This speech, as well as others, gained him the admiration of the Americans, and they adopted as their own a phrase he used on another occasion, when he called them "Sons of Liberty." But if the act attracted little opposition or notice in England, it was far otherwise in America. Remonstrances were forwarded to England, speeches were made against it, and all the colonial assemblies denied the right of Parliament thus to tax the colonies without their consent. In May, 1765, Patrick Henry, in the Virginia assembly, introduced a series of resolutions against the act, and in his speech supporting them said: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each a Brutus; Charles I., his Cromwell; and George the Third" . . . and he paused, when the Speaker shouted, "Treason," and the word was echoed from every part of the house, while Henry, with his eye fixed on the Speaker, closed the sentence, "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." The resolutions were passed by a small majority. Associations called "Sons of Liberty" were formed all over the country to keep up the agitation; when the stamped paper came over, it *was seized and destroyed*; those who had accepted office

as stamp distributors were forced to resign. So, when the time came for the act to go into operation, there were neither stamps nor officers. This strong resistance had not been anticipated by friends of America, perhaps not by many Americans. Though Benjamin Franklin had not approved of the act, yet he counselled submission, and even asked for the position of distributor for a friend; and Richard Henry Lee applied for such an office for himself.

89. Stamp Act Congress. (1765.) — An important result of the Stamp Act in America was the occasion it gave for the coming together of the "Stamp Act Congress" in New York in October, 1765. The idea seems to have been suggested in Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina about the same time. To this congress, all the colonies except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia sent delegates. Though not represented, these colonies were in sympathy with the movement. This congress discussed the state of affairs, issued addresses to the king and Parliament, and also a declaration of rights. The ability of these papers is remarkable, and the language in which the position of the colonists is set forth admits of no doubtful interpretation. But, while declaring that the Parliament had no right to tax the colonies without their consent, there was no sentiment of disloyalty to the crown expressed.

90. Repeal of the Stamp Act. (1766.) — On receipt of the news of the failure of the Stamp Act in America, the English government was much surprised; they were also petitioned by English merchants, who were suffering an alarming diminution in their trade, to repeal the law; for the determination not to obey the act had been followed by an agreement not to use any English goods. Franklin, too, who had been

summoned before the House of Commons to give his opinion on the state of affairs in America, had told them that the Americans would never submit. William Pitt, in the House of Commons, said, "I rejoice that America has resisted"; but he also said, "I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonists to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatever. . . . Taxation is no part of the legislative or governing power. Taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone." Moved by all these things, Parliament, in 1766, repealed the Stamp Act, but at the same time passed a Declaratory Act, setting forth that "the crown, with the advice and consent of Parliament," "had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and peoples of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain in all cases whatever."

91. Real Object of the Taxation. (1766.) — In their joy at the repeal of the obnoxious measure, the colonists at first overlooked the Declaratory Act. But besides this, England had no notion of letting them alone; England was burdened with debt, she had spent much for the colonies, and was determined to make them bear their share of the expense. It is important to remember that the object of this taxation was not to help pay the expenses of the government at home, nor was it to help pay the interest on the debt, but all the expected revenue was to be spent in or for the colonies themselves. There were two main sources of expense in the colonies; first, that for the defence of the frontier against the Indians, including building of forts and maintaining them, as well as some other matters; secondly, the salaries of the colonial governors, and other necessary outlays of a similar character.

92. Objections of the Colonists. (1766.) — The need of these expenses could hardly be questioned by the colonists. The grounds of their objection were that the money was raised without their consent, and that the taxes were laid by a body in which they had no representation. Such things, they claimed, were infringements upon their fundamental rights as Englishmen. Besides, they feared that if they should give up this point, there would be nothing to prevent tyrannical government, and that they would also soon have to contribute to the general expenses of the empire.

In 1765 an act had also been passed requiring the colonists to support troops which might be quartered among them; this was known as the Quartering Act. Massachusetts refused to obey this, and so did New York. Aside from the vexed matter of taxation, this act aimed to make them pay for means used to enforce what they already deemed illegal and tyrannous; it was therefore doubly repulsive.

93. Political Condition of the Colonies. (1765.) —The thirteen colonies had much that was similar in their positions, but while they had many common interests, there were striking differences among them. In their political condition there were three forms of government: (1) Royal; Massachusetts (sect. 57), New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. (2) Charter; Rhode Island and Connecticut. (3) Proprietary; Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. In all of these there were assemblies or legislatures chosen by the people, which made their local laws and provided for raising the taxes. In the two charter governments the relation to England was little more than nominal. In the proprietary, the proprietor took the place of the king, and the relation to him was also little more than nominal. In the royal, the governor was

appointed by the crown, and the colonists were subjected to rather more restrictions than under the other two systems; but all the colonies were really more or less independent of the mother country in everything except foreign affairs, which, by almost universal consent, up to 1765, belonged to the imperial government.

94. Domestic Life and Manners. (1765.) — In domestic life and manners there was really more difference than in political matters. The New England colonies still retained many Puritan ideas and customs. There was but little distinction of rank at that time, and wealth was more equally distributed than elsewhere in the colonies.

In New York and New Jersey the Dutch influence was still to be seen. The patroons along the Hudson River kept up a style in proportion to their large estates, while the city of New York had already become a commercial centre, though inferior to either Philadelphia or Boston in population. Pennsylvania was perhaps the thriftiest of the colonies, and was one of the most conservative. Philadelphia was the largest city in the colonies, and at this time the most handsomely built; its regular streets, public squares, and well paved sidewalks were the admiration of visitors and the pride of the citizens. Its population was the largest in the colonies, being 25,000, that of Boston being slightly less. The northern part of Maryland resembled Pennsylvania and Delaware, but the southern part was like Virginia and the Carolinas. Here there were few towns and villages; the planter lived upon his plantation, frequently several miles away from his next white neighbor. He was surrounded by his slaves, who performed all the manual labor, for he considered manual labor fit only for slaves. Tobacco was the chief crop, for cotton had not yet been made profitable by the invention of the

cotton-gin. Not a few of the planters sent their sons abroad to be educated, but all except the richer class were much behind the middle and northern colonies in education. But whatever their condition, all were accustomed to local self-government, and were a unit on the question of taxation without representation; but the idea of independence of Great Britain was hardly dreamed of, except by a few enthusiasts, who were considered as fanatics.

95. The Townshend Acts. (1767.) — If Parliament had repealed the Stamp Act, it was only because its continuance, as was declared in the repealing act, "would be attended with many inconveniences, and detrimental to the commercial interests of the kingdom." The government was determined to get a revenue out of the colonies and in its own way. An act was passed, forbidding all trade with certain West India islands. This had been very profitable, and the prohibition was not only a cause of irritation, but also of heavy losses, especially in Massachusetts. Two acts known, from their author, Charles Townshend, as the "Townshend Acts," passed in 1767, provided for the better carrying out of the laws of trade, and for laying duties on glass, paper, colors, teas, and also legalized "writs of assistance." The revenue raised was to be used in defraying the expenses of colonial government and for the defences of the colonies. The New York Assembly was ordered to be suspended until it should vote supplies for the troops which had been sent over, which it had refused to do. The question of submission or not was now clearly before the colonists; there was no putting it off nor evading it.

96. The "Farmer's Letters." (1767.) — The acts passed in the summer were not to go into force until the late fall,

and so there was plenty of time to consider what should be done. As in the case of the Stamp Act, resolutions of non-importation were agreed upon, and the effort was made to encourage home manufactures. This system of "boycott" was warmly upheld, even by conservative men. The action of the colonists was greatly influenced by the publication and circulation of a series of "Letters from a farmer of Pennsylvania," in which the whole situation was clearly, forcibly, and calmly reviewed. This "farmer" was John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, a young man of wealth and education and of unusual abilities. In these letters he expressed what the most thoughtful men of all classes believed, when he said: "Let these truths be indelibly impressed upon the minds: that we cannot be happy without being free; that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed upon us by Parliament do thus take it away; that duties laid for the sole purpose of raising money are taxes; that attempts to lay such duties should be instantly and firmly opposed; that this opposition can never be effectual unless it be the united effort of these provinces." On these principles the subsequent conduct of the colonies was largely based.

97. Continued Resistance in the Colonies. (1767–1770.) — The resistance to the obnoxious acts was mostly the peaceable refusal to use imported goods, which, notwithstanding failures here and there, was very generally observed; so much so that the exports from England between 1767 and 1769 declined; of those sent to New England, more than one-half; while to New York, they were not more than one-sixth of their former amount. But the presence of officers and troops in America made it almost impossible that collisions should

not occur, and in New York, North Carolina, and most of all in Massachusetts, there were riots. In 1768 a sloop belonging to John Hancock, a wealthy citizen of Boston, was seized for violation of the revenue laws, and the revenue commissioners were forced to take refuge on a ship of war in the harbor. This led to the quartering of troops in Boston itself, and in 1770 a collision between the troops and the citizens, known as the "Boston Massacre," took place. In this case the



JOHN HANCOCK'S HOUSE.

troops seemed to have fired only in self-defence; and at the trial, in which John Adams was one of their counsel, they were acquitted of the charge of murder. In 1772 a party of colonists seized and burnt the *Gaspee*, a revenue vessel, in Narragansett Bay. All these things showed the temper of the people, and should have been a warning to the English government to proceed with caution in their treatment of such independent subjects. But the ministry seem to have been entirely ignorant of the real character of those with *whom they had to* deal. It is likely that they may have

been somewhat misled by the petitions of the colonists, which expressed loyalty to the king and an affection for his person, even while refusing obedience to what they believed were illegal exactions. They were misled also by letters from royal officers.

98. Removal of Taxes, except on Tea. (1770.) — William Pitt, now become Earl of Chatham, was prevented by ill health from taking any part in political matters; Townshend, the author of the acts bearing his name, had died, and Lord North, a young man, was now appointed Prime Minister. Moved by the impossibility of enforcing the acts in America, and also by the petitions of the British merchants whose trade was suffering so much, he resolved upon a partial change of policy. Accordingly, in 1770, all the taxes on imports, except upon tea, were removed. Owing to the refusal of the Americans to use tea coming from England, the East India Company, which held the monopoly of the importation of that commodity, had an enormous stock on hand in England, and the affairs of the company were in confusion, partly caused by the loss of the American trade. In order to improve this state of affairs, it was provided (1773) that tea might be exported to America by the company, duty free, in England. Thus, the American import duty being three pence per pound, the Americans, who had previously paid five pence duty, actually got their tea at a lower price than before, or even than Englishmen. But with the colonists it was not a question of price, but of principle; and so the non-importation agreement was continued in respect to tea, and the Americans smuggled the article from Holland. Not receiving orders for tea, the company resolved to send out cargoes to different ports, hoping that when the invoices arrived they would be disposed of. But when the vessels

arrived at Boston, it was not allowed to be brought on shore, and the ships were ordered back to England. But the Governor and British officials refused to allow the vessels to sail. On this, a party of reputable citizens, disguised as Indians, went on board the ships, took the chests out of the hold of the vessels, and breaking them open, emptied the tea into the harbor. The "Boston Tea Party" took place December 16, 1773. At Charleston, the tea was stored in damp cellars, where it soon spoiled. At Annapolis the tea was burned; at Philadelphia and New York, as well as at other places, the ships with the tea were ordered back to England.

99. The Five Intolerable Acts of Parliament. (1774.) — When the news of these things reached England, the ministers were naturally very angry, and Parliament resolved to punish the rebellious colonies; and to do this they passed five acts aimed directly against them. The first was the Boston Port Bill; by this all commerce with the city was forbidden, no ships being allowed to come in or go out. This was of course to punish the Boston people for their resistance to Parliament. The second was the Transportation Bill; this allowed persons who might commit murder in resisting the law to be transported to the other colonies or to Great Britain for trial. The third was the Massachusetts Bill; this practically revoked the charter, in taking away from the Assembly all power of appointment, and vesting it in the governor, in whom the power of removal was also vested. No public meetings, except for the election of representatives and petty officers, could be held, unless by permission of the governor. These three acts were specially directed against Massachusetts, and she suffered much from them; but the effect on the other colonies was great, for they did not know when their turn *might come, and they* encouraged Massachusetts to continue

steadfast, showing their sympathy by gifts of money and supplies. The fourth act was the bill legalizing the quartering of troops in America. The fifth act was the Quebec Act; this, while professing to reorganize the government of Canada, really injured the colonies, for it extended the limits of Canada so as to include the territory west of the Alleghanies. This territory, the colonists felt, had been conquered from the French largely by their efforts, and rightly belonged to them. So this also tended to make the colonies feel they had a common cause. Though Burke, Barré, and Chatham opposed these bills, they were passed by large majorities in Parliament.[1]

Royal instructions or special directions sent to the colonial governors from the ministry, independent of Parliament, were also used, and helped to increase the feeling against the British government.

100. Committees of Correspondence. (**1772.**)— In 1772 Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, at a town meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, moved that committees of correspondence should be appointed in the different towns throughout the province, "to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province and to the world." This was done, and in the next year Virginia proposed that committees of correspondence should be appointed throughout all the colonies in order to produce unity of action. The proposition was accepted, and committees were soon appointed in six of the colonies, and later in the others.

101. Virginia proposes a General Congress. (**1774.**) — In June, 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses protested against the

[1] It was during the debates on the American question that public reports of *Parliamentary proceedings* were first allowed.

Boston Bill, and appointed the day on which it was to go into effect as a day of fasting; they also implored "the Divine interposition" to give them "one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." On this, the governor immediately dissolved the house. But the members held a meeting, at which they resolved that an attack on one of the colonies was an attack upon all, and that the committee of correspondence should consult the other committees on the expediency of holding a general congress. This measure was approved by all the colonies, and, at the request of New York, Massachusetts appointed Philadelphia as the place of meeting, and September 1, 1774, as the time. Delegates were appointed in all the colonies except Georgia, where the governor prevented the assembly from choosing them. While the delegates were being chosen, news was received of the passage of the acts immediately succeeding the passage of the Boston Port Bill, which have already been described. It excited the liveliest apprehension, and resolutions stamping these measures as "unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous to the American colonies" were passed in Pennsylvania; in Virginia, at a meeting of citizens over which George Washington presided, similar ones were passed; also one stating that they "would religiously maintain and inviolably adhere to such measures as should be concerted by the general congress for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and fortunes." Similar meetings were held all through the country, and it is a noticeable fact that there was a general agreement beforehand to abide by the decisions of the congress.

102. The First Continental Congress. (1774.) — The congress known as the first Continental (general) Congress, met *September 5, 1774*, at Philadelphia, in Carpenter's Hall, a

building still (1893) in good preservation. There were fifty-five delegates present, and every colony except Georgia was represented. It was a very able body, the colonies having sent their best men; George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee, from Virginia, Samuel Adams and John Adams, from Massachusetts, John Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden, from South Carolina, and John Jay, from New York, were among the number. These delegates were chosen in various ways; some by committees, some by the assemblies, others by conventions, but all claiming to represent the colonies. The congress acted cautiously, but, while professing loyalty to the king, issued an address to the people of the colonies; one to the Canadians; one to the people of Great Britain; and one to the king. A declaration of rights was also drawn up, and an agreement not to import, export, or use British goods. In the declaration the various objectionable acts of the British government were specified, and it declared that, if force were used to compel the people of Massachusetts to obey, "all America ought to support them in their opposition." After providing for another congress to meet on the 10th of the following May, the congress adjourned, October 26.



CARPENTER'S HALL, 1774.

103. Whigs and Tories; Resistance. (1775.) — Before this time two distinct parties had arisen in the country, the one called Tory, upholding the power of the British government, or at least disapproving of resistance to its regulations; the other called Whig, approving of resistance by force, if needful. The names were used in America from 1764, and were taken from British politics, the word Tory representing the present Conservatives, and Whig, the Liberals, in England.

During the time the congress was in session, the people of the colonies were collecting arms for use in case of necessity, and this was done most of all in Massachusetts. Her charter government had been overthrown by the governor, and she was really governed by what was called the Provincial Congress. By the order of this body, arms and ammunition had been collected at various points, and 20,000 "minute-men" enrolled, to be ready at a minute's notice, hence their name. General Gage, the royal governor and the commander of the British forces in the colonies, hearing of these proceedings, began to fortify Boston on the land side. Finding out that there was a considerable amount of gunpowder and military stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, he determined to seize it. He had also been ordered by the British government to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and send them to England to be tried for treason. They were now at Lexington.

104. Lexington and Concord. (1775.) — Though Gage's preparations had been made with great secrecy they were discovered, and Dr. Joseph Warren, a leading patriot in Boston, sent Paul Revere to warn Adams and Hancock of their danger.

It had already been agreed, that if British troops should start by land, one lantern should be hung from the steeple

of the old North Church in Boston, but if by water, two lanterns should be shown. Paul Revere left at ten in the evening; he was rowed over the Charles River, and when he landed, he saw two lights flashing across the water. A strong horse was waiting for him; he sprang into the saddle and galloped off. As he dashed along he roused the "minute-men" all the way to Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were, and then hastened on towards Concord. When told by some one that he was making too much noise, he replied, "You'll have noise enough here before long; the regulars are coming out!" They were indeed close behind the rider, but before these 800 British troops reached Lexington, early in the morning of April 19, 1775, they found the "minute-men" waiting for them. On their refusal to disperse at the order of the British commander, they were fired upon and returned the fire. When Concord was reached, only part of the arms and ammunition was found, but this was destroyed. On the return march to Boston, the British troops were exposed to a galling fire from behind rocks, walls, fences, and houses. The retreat soon became a rout, until the British were reinforced by other troops from Boston; but the fire of the minute-men was kept up until the troops were under cover of the guns of the warships in the harbor. In this, the first skirmish of the war, known as the Battle of Lexington, the loss of the minute-men was about 100, that of the British nearly three times as many. At once the Assembly of Massachusetts declared General Gage "ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate foe to the country." Thousands of minute-men hastened to Boston, and it was soon in a state of siege. A month after this, Ethan Allen, a colonel of the Vermont militia, or the "Green Mountain Boys," surprised Ticonderoga and *captured it. War had* begun.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REVOLUTION.

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105. Second Continental Congress; Washington Commander-in-Chief. (1775.) — The first congress had done nothing but deliberate, and issue documents; now the time for action had arrived. The second Continental Congress met May 10, 1775, the day of the taking of Ticonderoga. It instantly resolved to take up the quarrel of Massachusetts as the quarrel of the colonies; it accepted the army of minute-men around Boston as the Continental army, and at the suggestion of John Adams, appointed one of the delegates, George Washington, of Virginia, as commander-in-chief, and provided for the expenses by issuing $2,000,000 in paper money. Washington was already known throughout the colonies as a successful military man, from his part in the French and Indian War; he had been fifteen years a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and had been a member of the first Continental Congress, where he had made a great impression by his "solid information and sound sense." He was forty-three years old, and in the very prime of his powers. On his acceptance of the position of commander, he refused any pay for his services, though reserving the right to be paid for his expenses. At the close of the war he presented his account, neatly kept, written in his own handwriting. This document *may still be seen.*

106. Bunker Hill. (1775.) — Before Washington could reach Boston, another encounter had taken place. General Artemas Ward, the commander of the Massachusetts forces, learning that General Gage intended to fortify Bunker Hill in Charlestown, across the Charles River from Boston, sent a detachment of troops under Colonel William Prescott, on the evening of June 16, to occupy it and throw up entrenchments. The hill beyond, Breed's Hill, was chosen instead, and by morning the astonished British saw the lines of redoubts on the hill before them. At once 3000 British troops were sent across the river to dislodge the Americans. Twice were the British repulsed, with heavy loss; their third assault was successful, for the Americans were compelled to retreat because their ammunition had given out. The loss on each side was very heavy. Among the killed on the American side was General Joseph Warren, who was one of the ablest men in the country. The battle of Bunker Hill confirmed the colonists in the course they had taken. Washington reached the headquarters of the army at Cambridge and assumed command July 3, 1775.

107. Boston evacuated; Canada. (1776.) — His difficulties were very great; there was hardly any ammunition; the men, unused to military life, were already getting sick of the hardships they had to endure; they did not like the strict discipline of the camp; and they were enlisted only for short periods; so when Washington reached the army, he found it fully one-third smaller than it had been. In spite of these difficulties, he maintained the siege of Boston successfully. Early in March, 1776, having drilled the army, and thinking it time to make an active demonstration, he seized Dorchester Heights, to the south of the city, and fortified them before *the British could* prevent him. The British, fearing to attack

these entrenchments, resolved to evacuate the city, which was done March 17, 1776. The Americans were thus successful in compelling the British to leave Massachusetts.

In the hope of getting the Canadians to join them, the colonists sent an expedition to capture the British strongholds in Canada. They were successful in taking Montreal, but an attack upon Quebec was a total failure, and as the Americans were then driven out of Canada, the expedition did no good. Canada never helped the colonists. This was mainly due to three causes: first, the English population was small; secondly, by the Quebec Act, the French had been confirmed in many of their old rights and privileges and had no cause for grievance; and thirdly, Canada was separated from the other colonies by forests almost impenetrable, except in a few places where there were natural passageways.

108. The King and the Colonists. (1776.) — Meanwhile, Parliament had met in England, and George III. had already refused to hear or even to receive the petition sent to him by the second congress, but instead had issued a proclamation against rebellion and sedition. Parliament responded to the king by authorizing him to send forces to America and to hire troops of Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse Cassel. Trade was prohibited with certain of the colonies, a prohibition afterwards extended to all. There was now presented the curious spectacle of a congress fighting against the armies of the king, and exercising many of the prerogatives of an independent government, and yet protesting that it had no wish for independence. But it is almost impossible to fight against a man and yet not wish to escape from his rule, and there were many who saw the inevitable result before the congress did. The Declaration of Independence was the *necessary conclusion of the* acts of the congress in allowing

the colonies to form their own governments, authorizing British war vessels or transports to be captured, opening the ports of the colonies to all nations, forbidding the slave trade, and appointing Franklin, Jay, and others to maintain intercourse with the "friends of the colonies in Great Britain and elsewhere." On the 1st of January, 1776, a new flag had been hoisted in front of Boston as the ensign of the united colonies, having, in addition to the British union, thirteen alternate stripes of red and white.[1]



COLONIAL FLAG, 1776.

109. Origin of the States. — In October, 1775, New Hampshire petitioned the Continental Congress to be allowed to set up a government of its own, and in November the people of that colony were advised to "establish such a form of government as in their judgment will best promote the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province." South Carolina and Virginia received similar advice. Rhode Island, by act of her legislature, relieved her citizens from allegiance to the king. In Virginia and some other of the colonies, the royal governors fled. So that, one after another, the several colonies, either by advice of Congress or by their own action, set up

[1] The British union of two crosses indicated allegiance to the king. June 14, 1777, this union was changed to a blue field with thirteen stars. This flag was probably first unfurled August 3, 1777, at Fort Schuyler (now Rome), New York. The first battle in which it was used was probably the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. In 1795, two stars and two stripes were added for Kentucky and Vermont, but it was seen that the addition of a stripe for each new state would make a very ill-proportioned banner, and so, in 1818, the number of the stripes was reduced to thirteen, with the provision that a new star should be added for every new state *admitted. This is done* on the 4th of July succeeding its admission.

governments of their own. It needed little change to turn the colonial governments into states, little more in fact than to take from the crown the choice of the governor and give it to the people or to the legislatures; in Rhode Island and Connecticut no change was needed except to cease giving allegiance to the king. Such was the origin of the states.

110. **Feeling in North Carolina and Virginia.** (1775–1776.) — One of the earliest formal revolts against the British authority took place at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, May 31, 1775. On that day the committee of the county met and passed a series of resolutions, the most important of which declared that all commissions, civil and military, granted by the crown to be exercised in the colonies were null and void; and that the Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, was invested with all legislative and executive powers. A set of rules was drawn up, to be followed until the congress should provide laws, or the legislative body of Great Britain "resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America." In April, 1776, North Carolina "empowered her delegates in the Continental Congress to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring for independency," being "the first in America to vote an explicit sanction to independence." In Virginia, a convention in May instructed the delegates of that colony in Congress "to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United Colonies free and independent states."

111. **Declaration of Independence.** (1776.) — On Thursday, June 7th, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, introduced a resolution in the congress reciting "that these United Colonies *are and of right* ought to be free and independent

states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This was seconded by John Adams. Other resolutions looking toward foreign alliances, and towards a "plan for confederation" for the colonies, were also introduced. The consideration of the first resolution was, after some debate, postponed for a few weeks. This gave time for the delegates to find out the views of their constituents, and for the people to give expression to their wishes. By the end of June, twelve of the colonies had in one way or another given voice to the wish for independence. On the 1st of July the debate was begun, and on the 2d, the resolution was carried; on the 4th, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the congress. It was a curious coincidence that the bell which was rung on the 8th of July in celebration of the measure bore the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Leviticus xxv. 10). The building in which the congress sat received the name of Independence Hall, and the room has been restored as nearly as possible to the condition in which it was at the passage of the Declaration. The bell, since cracked (sect. 241), is still kept in the building. During the debate a committee of five, of which Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were members, was intrusted with the duty of preparing a statement of grievances, and of the resolves of the congress. The well-known document (see Appendix ii.), which was adopted with *but slight alteration*, was, with a few trifling exceptions, the



LIBERTY BELL.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1776.

work of Thomas Jefferson. The action of the congress and the reading of the Declaration were not received with such universal rejoicing as might have been expected. The fact was, that, except in the middle colonies, the people had gone faster than the congress, which simply had recorded the desires of the people when it issued the Declaration. The original copy of the Declaration was signed by John Hancock, the president of the congress, and by Charles Thomson, its secretary. The official copy on parchment, which is the one preserved at Washington, was signed by most of the members on the 2d of the following August, though others signed still later; one of the signers not *being a member* when the vote was taken. While the



CHARLES THOMSON.

signing was going on, John Hancock is reported to have said, "We must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must hang together." "Yes," said Franklin, who was standing by, "we must all hang together, or else we all shall hang separately."

112. British Plans of Attack. (1776.) — The British had left New England (sect. 107), but they had no intention of giving it up. They had come to the conclusion that there was to be a struggle, and were laying their plans to bring it to an end as speedily as possible. The middle colonies offered the most attractive field for attack. The population was less eager for independence than that of New England, and much might be hoped from the loyalists both in the way of direct aid and of influence. By this action, also, the colonies could be divided, and as they had no navy, it might be effectual in separating the southern and northern colonies. Moreover, the Hudson River, for a long distance, controlled the important route to Canada, besides forming a dividing line between New England and the rest of the country. Transferring the seat of war to the centre was a wise act on the part of Great Britain. In June an army, under General Howe, came from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and landing on Staten Island, began the campaign early in July.

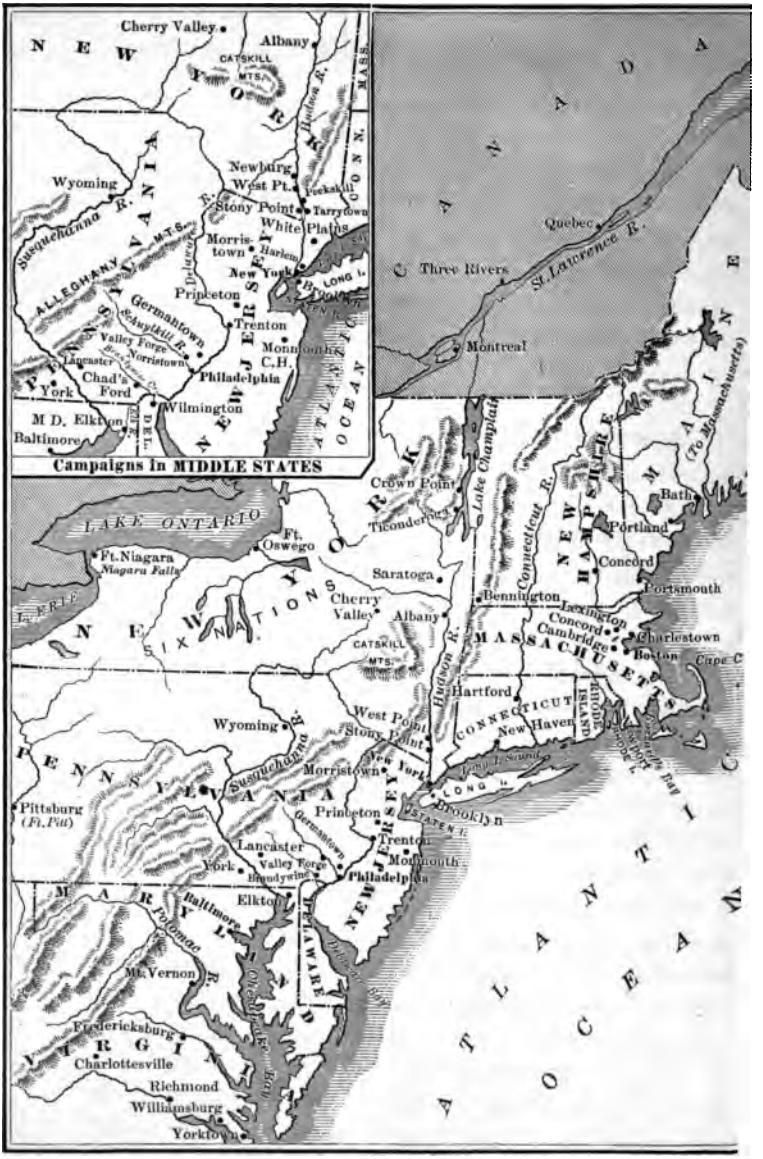
113. Washington at New York. (1776.) — Washington had already occupied New York. He had about 20,000 troops, but they were ill prepared to meet the British regulars; their arms were poor, and they had little experience of real war or even of military drill. General Howe was soon reinforced by the arrival of his brother, admiral of the fleet, Lord Howe. Before beginning hostilities, a proclamation was issued offering pardon to all who should swear allegiance

to the king. The brothers Howe were instructed to endeavor to make peace, if possible, but it was hard for them to know with whom to treat; if they approached Congress, the action involved recognition of that body, a thing which the British government on no account wished; and when they had tried to open communication with the American general, they addressed him as "George Washington, Esq.," or "George Washington, etc., etc., etc." But he would receive no communication that did not recognize him as the commander of the American armies. As all the terms of the British were based on submission, nothing could have come of the negotiation, for the time for this had passed.

114. **New York Campaign.** (1776.) — Meantime the British army had been receiving additions, and their forces amounted to about 30,000 men. Washington had been fortifying his position as much as possible. He held possession of Long Island, and from the heights of Brooklyn commanded the city of New York. The division of the American army which, under General Putnam, held this important post, was attacked by a strong force of British and was defeated. With great skill Washington brought his troops over to the mainland, but New York had to be evacuated. An informal conference was held between Lord Howe, and Franklin, Rutledge, and John Adams; but it was of no avail. The war must go on. After the evacuation of New York, Washington held the highlands to the north of the city, thus cutting off any communication with Canada; in order to be ready to defend Philadelphia, he crossed the Hudson, leaving a large garrison in Fort Washington on the east bank of the river. This fort he had the mortification of seeing surrendered to the British, though after a brave defence. Cornwallis, one of Howe's generals, soon crossed the Hudson to attack Washington, who

now, having only about 3000 men, was compelled to retreat slowly before him and even to cross the Delaware River. This was late in December. Congress, in the general gloom, had given Washington enlarged powers, and hastily leaving Philadelphia had gone to Baltimore. Everywhere murmurs were heard, the Pennsylvania militia refused to turn out, and many persons through New Jersey were placing themselves under the protection of the British. After crossing the Delaware, the small force of Americans was increased to about 6000 men.

115. Trenton; Newport. (**1776–1777.**) — The British followed Washington, and were in possession of all the central part of New Jersey, and would have crossed to the west bank of the river had not Washington secured all the boats for miles above and below Trenton. It was in this unpromising condition of circumstances that Washington determined upon a bold stroke. With 2500 men he crossed the Delaware some miles above Trenton, surprised its garrison of Hessians, taking nearly all prisoners, and returned into Pennsylvania. He then marched back to Trenton, whence being threatened by the British, he retreated by night to Princeton, and the first the British knew of his movement was the sound of his cannon in the distance. The British general, Cornwallis, was forced to follow, to protect his stores and avoid losing communication with New York. Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown, but he had succeeded in drawing the enemy from Philadelphia. His position was too strong to be attacked, and should the British push on towards Philadelphia, it would be at the risk of a flank movement on the part of Washington. The British were not idle, however; marauding expeditions were sent out from New York into the surrounding country, *and much damage* was done. Newport, Rhode Island, was



***Reference Map for the Revolution*—NORTHERN AND MIDDLE STATES.**

captured late in 1776, and held by the British for about three years. Much of the ill success of the Americans in the early part of the campaign seems to have been due to two causes: first, Congress interfering with Washington; secondly, the treachery of General Charles Lee, who was next to Washington in rank, and exceedingly jealous of him. Fortunately, Lee was surprised and captured by the British, and his troops were added to those of Washington.

116. Lafayette; Steuben. (**1777.**) — Early in the spring of 1777 the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French nobleman, came to America to offer his services to the Americans. He brought also money for the cause. With him was a German officer, Baron de Kalb. Others also came from Europe; Kosciusko, Pulaski, and later Baron Steuben, who had been trained under Frederick the Great, and who was of great service in drilling the American troops.

117. Burgoyne's Surrender. (**1777.**) — Meanwhile, stirring events were taking place in the north. The British, in carrying out their plans, sent two expeditions from Canada; one under General Burgoyne, to open communication with New York, for the Americans still held the river above Peekskill; the other to central New York, under St. Leger, to reduce the country to submission and then to join Burgoyne. Burgoyne's force consisted of about 10,000 men, of whom only about 7000 were regular troops, the rest being Canadians or Indians. He was successful in taking Ticonderoga, and then pressed on towards the Hudson with the purpose of joining the army which Howe was to send to meet him. By thus getting the Americans between two fires, he hoped to annihilate them. The American forces under Philip Schuyler, only about 4000 strong, were compelled to retreat, but they destroyed all the

bridges, cut down trees, and obstructed the road as much as possible. Burgoyne, in confident assurance of success, sent a detachment to Vermont, in the hope of gaining that part of the country to the British. But this expedition, as well as that under St. Leger, was a failure. The people, instead of joining the British, were indignant at the invasion of their country, and while Burgoyne was losing numbers every day, the militia came pouring in to swell the army of Schuyler. The British were far from their base of supplies, and could hear nothing of Howe. To drive back the Americans seemed the most feasible plan, but in the attempt to carry it out Burgoyne was checked in two battles near Saratoga. Hemmed up, and with his force decreased to about 6000 men, he was compelled to surrender, October 17, 1777, to General Gates, whom Congress had most unfairly put in the place of Schuyler, to whom the credit of organizing the opposition to Burgoyne is due. Gates did not deserve any credit even for the battles; that belonged to Generals Benedict Arnold and Morgan.

118. Howe's Blunder. (**1777.**) — The blunder of Howe in not advancing to meet Burgoyne had most serious consequences for the British cause, leading, as it did, to the surrender of Burgoyne, the recognition of America by France, and the French alliance. It was not till eighty years had elapsed that the reason for Howe's action was explained. General Charles Lee, who had been captured in New Jersey (sect. 115), secretly tendered his services to the British, and advised Howe to take Philadelphia, "the rebel capital, which would destroy the rebel government," and also to send an expedition up the Chesapeake Bay to prevent aid being sent from Virginia and Maryland. Both Maryland and *Pennsylvania*, he asserted, were in sympathy with the British,

and only needed encouragement to declare for the king. Lee, not having a very high opinion of Washington's generalship, believed that this could be done without much difficulty, and Burgoyne would be more than a match for Schuyler and Gates. But Washington chose his positions so skilfully that Howe dared neither to attack nor to leave him in his rear. It is probable that Washington never displayed greater skill than at this critical juncture, but as no battles were fought, and there was nothing to show to the public, the fortunes of the struggling republic to outward appearance seemed to be in a most discouraging state.

119. **Howe captures Philadelphia.** (1777.) — After two or three weeks Howe determined to make another attempt to capture Philadelphia, and, apparently influenced by Lee's advice, he embarked an army and set sail for the Delaware; but on arriving at the bay of that name, fearing obstructions in the river, or for some other unexplained reason, he put to sea again, and reaching the Chesapeake, went up that bay as far as Elkton, where he disembarked his forces and started for Philadelphia. Though Howe issued proclamations of amnesty, they had little effect, for very few of the inhabitants joined him; whether they sympathized with the British or not, they evidently did not care to run any unnecessary risk.

As soon as Washington had found out that Howe had left New York, he broke up his encampments, and hurried to intercept him, if possible, before he could reach Philadelphia. The armies met, September 11, at Chad's Ford, on the Brandywine Creek, about fifteen miles north of Wilmington. Washington had but about 11,000 men against Howe's 18,000; but he saw it was necessary to make an effort to defend Philadelphia. He chose his position and placed his forces *with great skill*, but in the engagement which followed

he was driven back with considerable loss, and was forced to retreat; this was done in such good order that it was a fortnight before Howe was able to enter the "rebel capital." The battle of the Brandywine was of great service to the American army, though it had been a defeat, for it proved that the American troops could stand against the British and Hessian regulars.

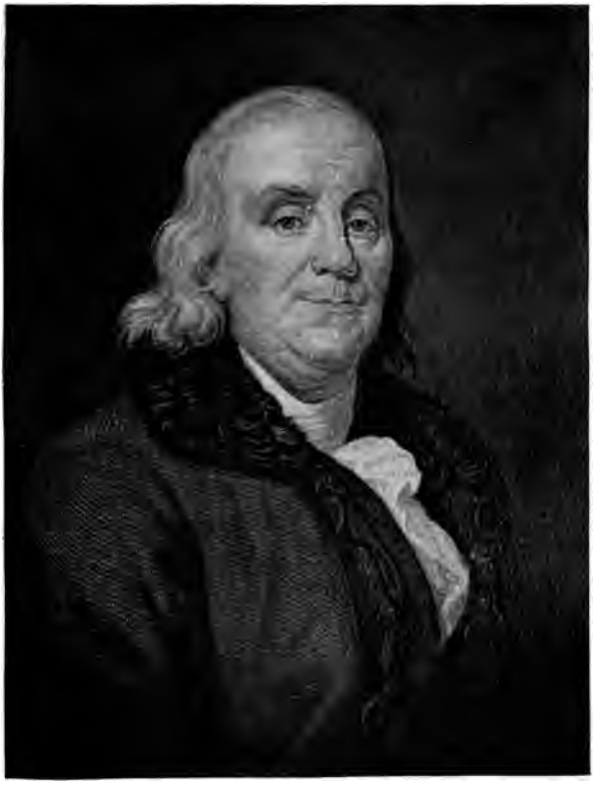
120. Germantown; Valley Forge. (1777–1778.) — Washington made an attack, October 14, upon the British at Germantown, then a village six miles from Philadelphia. Though well planned, the attempt was a failure, partly on account of the heavy fog in which two divisions of the Americans fired upon each other, and threw the attacking party into confusion. As Washington could do little more, and as it was now late in the year, he went into winter quarters on the Schuylkill River at Valley Forge, from which place he could watch both Philadelphia and New York. Howe and his army remained in Philadelphia, where they had many sympathizers. But the British army was much demoralized by its stay in the city. Franklin said that the British had not so much taken Philadelphia as that Philadelphia had taken the British. The circumstances of the American troops were far different. Shut in on the south and west by high hills, and lying open to the river in front, Valley Forge was admirably fitted for the winter quarters of a small army, but the very name has become almost a synonym for suffering. The soldiers were poorly fed, thinly clad, and slightly housed. Washington wrote, December 23, that 2898 men were "unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and otherwise naked."

121. The Conway Cabal. (1778.) — It is a disgrace to Congress that this suffering was occasioned not by lack of means,

but because of gross mismanagement of the commissary department, due to the interference of Congress. In fact, at this time, and later, the Continental Congress was far from being that wise, and self-sacrificing, and patriotic body which it is supposed by many to have been. Political and personal reasons influenced it greatly, and Washington's correspondence shows how often he was hampered, and his well-laid plans brought to naught by Congressional action. Members of Congress, ignorant of military tactics and of the practical difficulties in the way, censured Washington for not doing that which Congress itself kept him from doing through lack of supplies it could have readily furnished. John Adams said he was sick of this Fabian system. Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, in an anonymous letter to Patrick Henry, said: "The northern army has shown us what Americans are capable of doing with a general [Gates] at their head. The spirit of the southern army is in no way inferior to the spirit of the northern. A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men." General Gates was a scheming, ambitious man. He had succeeded in supplanting Schuyler; he now tried to supplant Washington, and all through the winter of 1777–78 intrigues were set on foot with this end in view. Members of Congress, as well as officers in the army, were implicated; one of these, Conway by name, an Irish volunteer, was prominent in the affair, and it is called from him the "Conway Cabal." As soon as the matter became known, public indignation was so strong that the movement failed completely, and most of those who had anything to do with it did their best to conceal their share. But Washington retained the confidence of the people, who, in John Adams's language, idolized him.

122. France supports America; British Overtures. (1778.) — The second stage of the Revolutionary War had been reached. Up to this time the conflict had been between Great Britain and her rebellious subjects; now other nations were drawn in, and, as in the French and Indian War, the struggle became part of an international contest. If the surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, cheered the hearts of the desponding Americans, it brought dismay to the British government. It proved to be the real turning-point of the war, and the Battle of Saratoga has always been considered as one of the decisive battles of the world. France, who had long wished for an opportunity to revenge herself for the loss of her American possessions, and had been secretly aiding the Americans, on the news of the surrender of Burgoyne, listened to the advances of Benjamin Franklin, whom the congress had appointed minister to France, and early in 1778 signed a treaty of alliance, agreeing to send a fleet to the aid of America and an army of 4000 men as well. Of course, as soon as the British government heard this, war was declared against the French. Again overtures were made to the Americans. Everything that the colonists had asked a few years before — freedom from taxation, representation in Parliament — was offered, but it was too late. Spain, who was also under Bourbon rule, joined France, and in about a year Holland, for reasons of her own, acknowledged the independence of the United States.

123. Effect of the French Alliance. (1778.) —The immediate effect of the French alliance in America was to inspire the Americans with new courage, and make them refuse any overtures for peace that did not explicitly acknowledge the independence of the states, and it also led to the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British; for, fearing that the French



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

UNIV. OF MICH.

fleet would seize New York, the British government ordered their army back to that city, which was of more importance to them than Philadelphia. Besides all this, the French alliance divided the attention of England, and prevented her from increasing her army in the colonies. It also greatly helped the financial credit of the Americans.

124. British Failure in the Middle Colonies. (1778.) —Washington was on the alert, and after the evacuation of Philadelphia, fell upon the retreating armies at Monmouth, in New Jersey, and had it not been for the insubordination of General Charles Lee, who had been exchanged and restored to his position in the army, this would have been a decisive victory; as it was, Washington came up in time to change a retreat into a firm stand. During the night the British retreated and reached New York. Again Washington took up his old position north of the city, his line extending along the highlands as far as Morristown, New Jersey. The British force had gained nothing, but had succeeded in arousing a vast amount of ill-will to their cause by the ravages of their troops and their often brutal treatment of the inhabitants. In this way many Tories had been turned into Whigs, for little difference had been made between friend and foe. The British campaign in the middle colonies had failed. There remained the southern colonies, and it was resolved to make that part of the country the field of operations.

125. French Aid; Massacre of Wyoming; the Indians. (1778–1779.) — According to agreement, the French sent to America a fleet and a land force of 4000 men. The expedition came first to New York, but finding the draft of some of the vessels too great to cross the bar at the entrance of the harbor, it was determined to attack Newport, Rhode Island, which

had remained in the possession of the British (sect. 115). Owing to storms and bad management, this attempt was a failure, and the French admiral sailed with his fleet to the West Indies. During the years 1778–1779 there were a number of plundering expeditions and many experiences of the horrors of a border warfare. In July, 1778, a force of British and Indians, under the lead of a Tory named Butler, and Brant, a Mohawk chief, came from Fort Niagara, and attacking a Connecticut settlement in Wyoming valley, Pennsylvania, butchered the settlers and destroyed almost everything; the same year another of the Butler family and Brant destroyed the village of Cherry Valley, in New York, massacring the inhabitants. These were only the principal instances; there were others, only less cruel because of their less magnitude.

126. American Retaliation. (1779.) — War demanded retaliation, and so in the spring of the following year Washington organized an expedition against the Indians, placing it under the command of General Sullivan. The object of this expedition was, in Washington's own words, "to carry war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit." The country was not to be "merely run over, but destroyed." In October, 1779, Washington wrote: "General Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations, and driven all the inhabitants — men, women, and children — out of it." It is hardly necessary to say that this proceeding did not stop the Indian ravages; they continued to a greater or less degree until 1783. In the Declaration of Independence the king of Great Britain was accused of bringing "on the inhabitants of our frontiers

the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." It was a complaint ill-becoming the American Congress to make, as before April, 1775, Indians had been enlisted as minute-men in Massachusetts, and on the 25th of May, 1776, Congress had resolved "that it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies." On the 17th of June General Washington was authorized to employ Indians wherever they would be most useful, and also to "offer them a reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the king's troops, that they shall take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of those colonies." The cruel necessities of war probably demanded that the aid of the Indians should be sought by each party, but justice must lay the responsibility on both, and a charge of inconsistency upon the American Congress as well.

127. The Navy; John Paul Jones. (1775–1779.) — The Americans had hardly any navy. Congress had very early issued letters of marque to merchant vessels, thus constituting them privateers; that is, had given them authority to make war on British ships and take merchant vessels as prizes. The most successful commander of any of these cruisers was John Paul Jones, who was a regular commissioned officer in the United States navy. He took so many British ships, and he attacked vessels of the royal navy with such success, that his very name inspired fear. In a terrible conflict off Scarborough, on the east coast of England (1779), Jones's ship, *Le Bonhomme Richard* (named after the "Poor Richard" of Franklin's Almanac), engaged the British ship *Serapis*. The two vessels were so near that Jones lashed them together. After a desperate hand-to-hand fight, the *Serapis* surrendered,

but not before Jones had lost 300 of his 375 men. His vessel was so injured that she began to sink, and he transferred everything to his prize. It is likely that at least 500 privateers were commissioned by the individual states, besides those by Congress: this was in addition to the regular navy. The amount of damage to the British commerce may be imagined from the fact that 818 prizes were condemned during the year 1780 by one court in Massachusetts alone. It has been estimated that over 70,000 men were engaged in this naval warfare on the American side. The largest number of land forces at any one time in service was about 47,000 in 1776, while the average number of those nominally in service was only about 32,000.

128. Western Settlements; George Rogers Clark. (1775–1779.) — By the treaty of 1763 England gained the vast territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River (map p. 78), but she did not attempt to colonize it. She followed the French plan of keeping the land for the hunter and trapper. She occupied the old French posts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and some others, but did little else. Before the Revolutionary War broke out, explorers had begun to cross the mountains from Virginia and North Carolina. Among these was Daniel Boone, who as early as 1767 left North Carolina in quest of "the county of Kentucke." In March, 1775, he started with a company of thirty men to prepare for a settlement in the beautiful country he had explored. These pioneers chopped a path through the woods for two hundred miles. It went through the Cumberland Gap, it crossed rivers and streams which had to be forded, and led into the wilderness where no white man had dwelt. This route was known as Boone's Trail or the Wilderness Road, and over it, in later years, thousands went to seek new homes in the west. In spite of Indian attacks

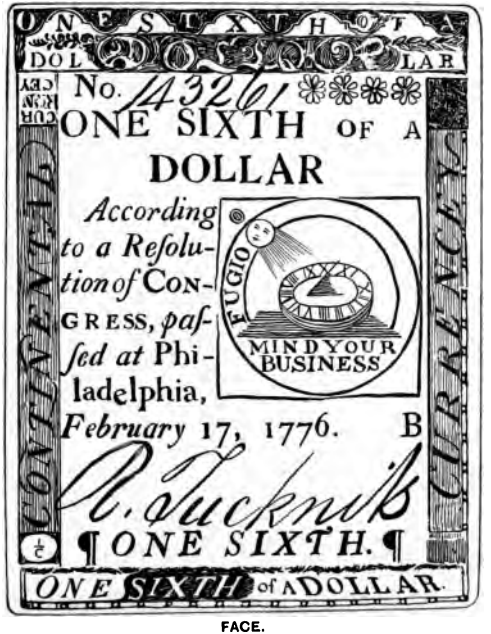
Boonesborough was founded. Almost every settlement in this southwest country was the result of individual effort. Daniel Boone in Kentucky, and John Sevier and James Robertson in Tennessee, were leaders in this great movement.

Hamilton, the British governor of the northwest region, had been ordered to enlist the Indians on the side of the British, and was very successful in doing it by means of presents and rewards. Many terrible Indian attacks followed, which made the settlers along the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier and in Kentucky almost panic-stricken. Among the men in Kentucky was George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian. He believed that if the British posts in the Illinois country could be captured, the danger from the Indians would be averted, and the vast western country secured. As Kentucky was, at that time, part of Virginia, he went to Williamsburg, the capital, to seek the aid and authority of Patrick Henry, then governor, to carry out this plan. The plan was approved, and Clark was given some funds, was commissioned a colonel, and was authorized to raise troops. With the comparatively small force he was able to get together, he took Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and other places (map, p. 53). When Vincennes was retaken by the British, he re-captured it, overcoming difficulties which most men would have thought insurmountable. During this campaign, he and his men marched across a flooded country in bitterly cold weather, often up to their necks in water, and endured hardships innumerable. Through the skill and perseverance of Clark, the United States gained the whole Illinois region, which, but for him, might have been lost.

129. Continental Money. (**1775–1779.**) — One of the greatest difficulties which presented itself to the Continental Congress was *how to raise the money* necessary for carrying on the

war. It has already been seen that they issued paper currency for this purpose in 1775. It is quite likely that had the Continental Congress at that time attempted to tax the several colonies for the support of the war, the attempt might have been successful; but it did not try. It pursued the plan, already familiar to the colonists, of issuing paper money — promises to pay coin on demand or after a certain date. Of course a promise to pay is only valuable in proportion to the ability to pay, and unless the Americans gained their independence, they would not be able to pay. Accordingly, the more discouraging the prospect, the less the people were willing to take the paper bills, only accepting them at a heavy discount. Again, the larger the amount, the less likely the ability to pay. Before July 4, 1776, twenty millions of dollars had been issued. It was useless to issue any more, for the people would not take any more; Washington said that "a wagon-load of bills would not buy a wagon-load of provisions." In December, 1779, the nominal coin value of a continental paper dollar was only two cents, but hardly any one would give that, and in a few weeks the paper money was worthless. Besides the paper money issued by Congress, the individual colonies had issued their share, so the whole country was flooded with this wretched substitute for coin, and in addition to this British forgeries were plentiful.

130. Foreign Loans. (1775–1781.) — Soon after the breaking out of the hostilities, Congress had tried to borrow money in Europe, particularly from France and Holland, but the bankers of Europe were slow to lend to rebellious subjects of a powerful king; funds could only be had at high rates of interest, and even such funds could not have been secured without the personal aid of such men as Franklin and John Adams. Most if not all the aid that was received from



FACE.



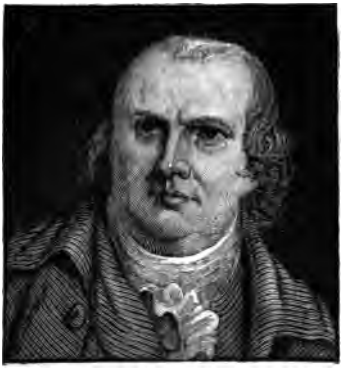
BACK.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY (Exact Size).

France was given more with the object of injuring her ancient enemy England, than from sympathy for America. One great difficulty that stood in the way of negotiating loans lay in the fact that Congress had no power of imposing taxes; it could only recommend to the states to raise money, not compel them to do it. Thus the money-lender would ask, "How are you going to pay the interest?" The only answer possible was, "We hope the states will raise the amount needed." This was poor security indeed; but partly through belief in the promises, partly through French hatred of England, and a desire to see her humbled, the Congress managed to borrow about $11,000,000 in Europe during the war. The French alliance, after the surrender of Burgoyne, was of the greatest assistance to the United States; had it not been for this, her credit would have been quite lost.

131. **Robert Morris.** (1781.) — There was also a large home debt; for, like individuals in desperate straits, Congress borrowed money wherever it could. In 1781, when the outlook was most gloomy, Congress appointed Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, Superintendent of Finance. He agreed to take the office only on condition that Congress would return to specie payment and give up the attempt to make the people take paper money. This was done. And to aid the government, the Bank of North America was chartered at Philadelphia by Congress. The bank is still in existence, and, with the exception of one in Boston, is the only bank in the United States that can claim so long a lease of life. Many stories have been told of the suffering of the men in consequence of the worthlessness of the money which was paid to them. Just after the battle of Trenton, Washington wrote to Robert Morris that he must have $50,000 in *hard cash, or a large* number of men whose term

of enlistment was out would leave the army. Morris, appreciating the gravity of the situation, went about among his friends early in the morning, before it was light, to try to raise the sum needed; he succeeded, and sent the cash to Washington. This is but one instance of Morris's perseverance and success. Had it not been for him it is hard to see how the finances of the Revolution could have been carried on. Early in 1781 the Pennsylvania militia revolted and refused to serve any longer in the army, on account of receiving neither pay nor supplies. They started to march to Philadelphia to compel Congress to do them justice. Congress sent commissioners to meet them, who promised to satisfy the troops, and they thereupon agreed not to disband. Other instances somewhat similar might be mentioned. In November, 1780, the army had been ten months without pay, and their supplies were poor and insufficient. All through this period the patience of Washington was marvellous.



ROBERT MORRIS.

132. Benedict Arnold; Dark Days. (1778–1780.) — After the battle of Monmouth (sect. 124) both the British and the American armies had remained comparatively quiet, nothing but skirmishes taking place. Two incidents deserve mention. In 1779 Wayne — "Mad Anthony," as he was called from his daring — stormed and took Stony Point, a fortress below West Point, which the British had captured. As the Americans were not able to hold this place, it was destroyed.

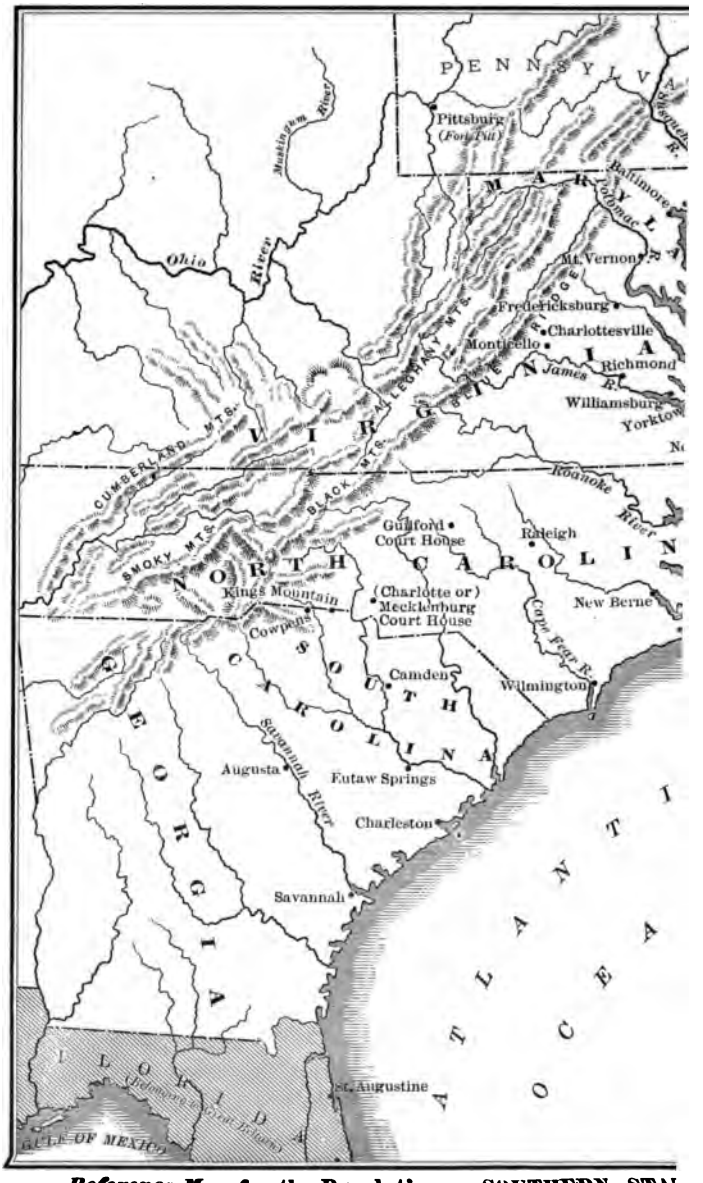
In 1780 the Americans nearly met with a great disaster through the treason of General Benedict Arnold. Arnold, who had shown himself to be one of the bravest of the American commanders, was so wounded in the leg during the Saratoga campaign as to unfit him for field service. Washington, who had a high opinion of his abilities, appointed him to the command of Philadelphia after its evacuation by the British. Arnold, despite his abilities, seems to have had a great fondness for getting into quarrels and making enemies. Congress promoted junior men over him, and this incurred his ill-will. While in Philadelphia he lived in extravagant style, and associated with the Tory element, finally marrying a Tory's daughter. He was accused by the state government of dishonesty, and of other things that were mostly rather indiscretions than crimes. He was finally acquitted of the serious charges, but was sentenced to be reprimanded for the others by Washington. That Washington thought Arnold hardly treated is shown by the fact that, after Arnold's resignation of his command at Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of West Point.

133. **Arnold's Treason.** (1780.) — The year 1780 was one of the darkest periods of the war, and Arnold doubtless thought the struggle was hopeless; and there seems to be little doubt that he applied for the command at West Point with the intention of betraying the fortress to the British. In order to complete the plans for the delivery of that post, it was needful that the British general should send a personal representative to treat with Arnold. Major John André was the one selected, and, in September, 1780, the visit was made to Arnold, and the arrangements completed. By a series of *mischances* André was captured by three New York

militiamen and the treasonable plan discovered. Arnold heard of the failure in time to escape; but André was tried by a court-martial, found guilty of being a spy, and was hanged. No incident in the war has occasioned so much comment as this, but the opinion expressed by a recent British historian probably gives the commonly received judgment of the present day: "The justice of his sentence can hardly be denied." [1]

134. Southern Campaign. (1778–1780.) — The failures of the British in the middle colonies and New England made them turn to the South. There was much to encourage them to attempt a campaign there. Florida was theirs; Georgia was thinly settled and could not make much resistance; the negroes were numerous and not likely to be anything but a hindrance to their owners in case of active hostilities; the South had experienced nothing of the war since an attack on Charleston in 1776, and had been the place from which the continental armies had drawn much of their supplies; moreover, it was believed that the inhabitants were very lukewarm in their adherence to the American cause, as there was undoubtedly a large number of Tories. Late in 1778 the British sent an expedition from New York against Savannah, and very soon captured it. In the spring of 1780 they succeeded in shutting up General Lincoln, the American commander, in Charleston, and he was forced to surrender. Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief, himself took part in the attack. Leaving Cornwallis in charge of the southern forces, Clinton returned to New York. The

[1] Arnold received the reward for what he intended to do, the commission of a general in the British army and £6315 sterling. He fought against his country in Connecticut and in Virginia; went to England and then to New Brunswick; but he was always regarded with contempt.



Reference Map for the Revolution — SOUTHERN STA

British now had complete control of Georgia, and restored the royal government. In no part of the war was there so much retaliation practised. The Whigs and Tories fought among themselves. Marauding expeditions from both sides went up and down the country pillaging and destroying, every now and then meeting and fighting, with success and defeat about equally distributed.

135. Gates's Failure; Greene. (1780–1781.) — Congress sent Gates, who had gained undeserved reputation from Saratoga, to take command of the southern armies. He met the British at Camden, South Carolina. Here, though he had fully twice as many men as Cornwallis, he was totally defeated, and, fleeing ahead of his army, he hardly paused in his rapid flight until some seventy miles distant from the field of battle. A large part of Gates's forces, it is true, were militia, who fled at the first shot of the British, but his reputation was gone. South Carolina was now wholly under British control, and there was no organized army to oppose it in either of the Carolinas. Greene, by the advice of Washington, was sent to supersede Gates. Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, was of Quaker birth, and a blacksmith by trade. He entered the army early in the conflict, rose by reason of his natural abilities, and became, without question, the ablest of the Revolutionary officers except Washington. The change of commanders was soon made evident by the conduct of the campaign. The Americans had been successful, shortly after the defeat at Camden, in surprising and capturing a British force at King's Mountain; and at Cowpens another force under Tarleton was completely beaten. Greene was too weak to attack Cornwallis, and so retreated, hoping that Cornwallis would follow him. This he did, and at Guilford Court House, near Greensboro', North Carolina,

the armies met. After a sharp conflict, Greene retreated, leaving Cornwallis in possession of the field; but the British loss was so heavy that Cornwallis could not pursue the Americans, who had retreated in good order. Though nominally defeated, Greene had succeeded in his main purpose. He had drawn Cornwallis so far from his base of supplies that he could not return, and was forced to go to Wilmington, North Carolina, to recruit and to try to open communications with the British fleet. It was the despatch of Cornwallis to the British Colonial Secretary announcing this victory that made Charles James Fox exclaim, "Another such victory would destroy the British army!" Greene meanwhile hurried back to South Carolina, and though he was defeated several times, his movements were so skilful, and the British losses were so severe, that by September, 1781, the British held only Charleston and Savannah.

136. Cornwallis marches to Virginia. (1781.) — Cornwallis, when he found where Greene had gone, apparently thought that the British forces in South Carolina would be able to hold him in check, and so determined to march into Virginia and join the British troops already there, who had been sent from New York to annoy that colony and keep it from aiding the Carolinas. One of these expeditions was under Benedict Arnold, who took Richmond and committed a great deal of devastation through the country.[1]

Lafayette had already been sent by Washington to watch affairs in Virginia, and with his small force had been very successful. Cornwallis, after having spent considerable time marching to and fro in order to prevent Lafayette from gain-

[1] Clinton had so little confidence in Arnold that he gave his two subordinate officers commissions under which they could act in case Arnold should prove to be a traitor to his employers.

ing reinforcements, now received orders to seize some post where there would be easy communication with the sea, and to fortify it: Cornwallis accordingly took Yorktown and proceeded to carry out his instructions.

137. **Yorktown.** (1781.) — Hitherto, though the moral influence of the French alliance had been of the greatest advantage to the United States, the army had done little or nothing. In 1780 the Count Rochambeau reached Newport, Rhode Island, with 6000 troops, who not long after were marched to the Hudson to help Washington in a projected attack on New York. Clinton, the British commander, was alarmed; and well he might be, for a powerful French fleet was on the point of being sent to America with orders to co-operate for a time with the American forces before going on to the West Indies, its ultimate destination. Learning in August that the destination of this fleet, which also had on board a small reinforcement of French troops, was the Chesapeake, Washington resolved to change the seat of war to Virginia, and with the assistance of the fleet cut off Cornwallis. These plans were carried out with the greatest secrecy. By starting from Peekskill, a few miles south of West Point, his destination might well be supposed to be Staten Island, a good place to begin the attack on New York, which Clinton was expecting. Deceiving the enemy, Washington was almost at Philadelphia before Clinton knew what he was about. By the energy of Franklin and Laurens in France, new loans had been negotiated, which opportunely provided the money needed to make the change of base, and the American and French troops marched to the head of Chesapeake Bay, and were embarked on transports at Elkton and at Baltimore, and brought to the York peninsula in *Virginia.* *The French* fleet reached the Chesapeake as

expected, landed the reinforcements for Lafayette, and being attacked by a division of the English fleet, drove it off, and so was able to co-operate with the land forces in blockading Cornwallis.

138. Cornwallis surrenders October 19, 1781. — After a siege of three weeks, during which Cornwallis made a number of desperate efforts to escape, he surrendered on the 19th of October, 1781, with all his forces, numbering about 8000 men. The allied French and American armies numbered about 16,000. The same terms of surrender as had been imposed upon Lincoln at Charleston (sect. 134), including the laying down of arms, were required; and as Cornwallis did not appear, pleading illness, General Lincoln, who had been exchanged, was appointed to receive his sword from the subordinate who represented him. A fleet with reinforcements for Cornwallis sailed from New York the day of the surrender, but returned as soon as the news was heard. In Philadelphia the tidings were received at midnight, and the citizens were startled by the watchman's cry, "Past twelve o'clock, and Cornwallis is taken!" All felt that this victory was the virtual end of the war. Washington returned with his army to his old quarters on the Hudson at Newburgh; but hostilities, with a few exceptions, ceased pending news from abroad.

139. The News in England; Peace. (1783.) — Lord North is said to have received the news "as he would have taken a bullet through his breast," exclaiming, "O God, it is all over!" The king and his ministers tried to take measures to continue the war, but the opposition in Parliament and among the people was too strong. Fox, Burke, and the younger Pitt in the House of Commons, and Shelburne in

the House of Lords, attacked the government violently, and large public meetings were held in London and elsewhere, demanding that the war should cease. At length, on March 20, 1782, the Ministry resigned, and George III. was forced to appoint one favorable to making peace. It was not, however, until December that the king publicly announced to Parliament his consent to the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies.

It was nearly two years before the terms of peace could be agreed upon, so difficult were the questions to be settled, and so loath were the English to yield point after point. Meantime the American army, unpaid, was dwindling away from month to month. A conspiracy was started to make Washington king, which he soon stopped, spurning the suggestion with sternness and sorrow. Another plan was to refuse to disband until Congress or the states should pay arrears due. This, which seems to have been encouraged by Gates, was also stopped through Washington's influence. At length, on the 19th of April, 1783, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, which was generally considered to be the beginning of the Revolution, peace was formally proclaimed; most of the soldiers were given leave of absence, and the army was practically disbanded, though some of the troops were retained at Newburgh until the evacuation of New York by the British, November 25, 1783.

Rebellion had resulted in revolution, revolution in independence. This result was expected by few at the outset, undesired by many, and only brought about by the skill and perseverance of those who were at the beginning, and also, perhaps, during a good part of the struggle, a minority.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONFEDERATION. THE CONSTITUTION.

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140. Land Claims. (1781.) — The war was at end; the independence of the United States was acknowledged by England. At first sight all seemed accomplished. In reality, perhaps the most difficult questions remained to be

1783



LAND CLAIMS
OF THE
THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES
IN 1783.

New York claimed all the lands west of the Alleghany Mts. and North of the Ohio River belonging to the Six Nations.

solved. In fighting for independence the people had a common interest at stake upon which all could unite; there was no such issue before them now, and the petty jealousies, which had already shown themselves during the course of the struggle, became very prominent. The Articles of Confederation, agreed upon by the Continental Congress in 1777, had only gone into effect in 1781 by the accession of Maryland, whose adherence had been withheld on account of the ownership of the western lands ceded by France in 1763. Maryland held that these lands were acquired by the common effort of all the colonies, and therefore should be a common possession. Six of the colonies — New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland — had boundaries fixed by their charters. The western limits of the others were indefinite, though by the treaty of Paris, 1763, the Mississippi was recognized as the eastern boundary of the Spanish possessions, thus putting an end to the extravagant claims which some of the colonies had made. But all the colonies, except the six already mentioned, insisted that they extended to the Mississippi. Virginia claimed that according to charter, her northern boundary extended in the northwesterly direction indefinitely. This would include, besides the present state of Kentucky, the whole of what was afterwards known as the Northwestern Territory. New York was the first to give up her claims, and upon the assurance that the other states would follow her example, Maryland entered the Confederation, 1781. It was not until 1802 that various cessions to the United States fixed the boundaries of the original thirteen states as at present, Georgia being the last to give up her claim. Connecticut reserved the ownership of a part of northeastern Ohio, still known as the Western Reserve, but finally sold it, the proceeds of the sale being set aside "as a

perpetual fund, the interest of which should be appropriated to the support of schools."

141. Weakness of the Confederation. (1781–1786.) The Articles of Confederation were of little practical use. Perhaps the most important result was that they accustomed the people to the idea of union. By the time they went into force, local jealousies had reached such a pitch that the interest of the colonies as a whole occupied a secondary place in men's minds. It was almost impossible to get enough delegates to attend Congress to carry on the routine business of that body, and again and again adjournments were made because there was no quorum. By the Articles of Confederation Congress had large powers, but it had no means of enforcing its acts, and was completely at the mercy of the states, which did as they pleased. Unable to regulate foreign commerce, to raise revenue to pay its debts, or to enforce its acts, the Confederation soon fell into contempt, both at home and abroad, its credit was gone, and England openly violated the provisions of the treaty of peace.

The prosperity which had been expected to follow the declaration of peace had not come; the finances of the country were in a wretched state, and taxes were necessarily very burdensome. In western Massachusetts many refused to pay their taxes and resisted the collection of debts by the courts. This rising, known as Shays's Rebellion, from the leader in it, was speedily put down, but made a great impression on the sober minds of the country, helping to confirm the feeling that a stronger government was necessary.

142. Interstate Jealousies; Convention proposed. (1781–1787.) — Meanwhile, each state having the power to levy such duty as it pleased upon the commerce and trade with the other

states, the whole trade of the country was demoralized, and the most bitter ill-feeling existed between states. Congress now proposed to the states an amendment to the Articles, giving Congress the power to levy a duty upon imports. But no alteration could be made in the Articles except by unanimous consent. Rhode Island refused to agree, and Virginia, having once given her consent, afterwards withdrew it, and the amendment failed. Washington, and many of those who had done so much to secure the independence of the colonies, were almost in despair. Through the influence of James Madison, — who was one of a board of commissioners meeting, in 1785, at Alexandria, Virginia, to adjust the conflicting claims of Maryland and Virginia in Chesapeake Bay, — a convention of delegates from all the states was recommended to be called for the following year, to arrange, if possible, some general regulations for commerce. The Legislature of Virginia, in accordance with the recommendation, issued an invitation to all the states to send delegates to a conference to be held at Annapolis, Maryland, in the following year, 1786. Only five states sent delegates. The twelve men who met issued a recommendation to all the states to send delegates to a convention to be held in Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." The Continental Congress adopted the plan in February, 1787.

143. The Constitutional Convention. (1787.) — Influenced, doubtless, by Shays's Rebellion, and the failure of the proposed amendment, all the states, except Rhode Island, responded to the call, and on the 25th of May, 1787, the convention fairly began its work in Independence Hall. *Washington, who was a* delegate from Virginia, was chosen

president of the convention. It was without doubt one of the ablest bodies of men that ever came together. Each state seemed to have sent its best man. Besides Washington, were present Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Gerry, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, and Rutledge; Jefferson and Adams would undoubtedly have been members had they not been abroad in the service of the country. The defects of the existing government were known to all; the question was, how they could best be remedied. A difficulty arose at the very start, for many held that the power of the convention only extended as far as revision; while others, as Hamilton and Madison, held that no revision could remedy the defects, but that an entirely new scheme should be devised. This last opinion prevailed, and the convention set about its work in earnest.

144. Compromises. (1787.) — For four months the debate went on behind closed doors. Often it seemed as if nothing could be done but break up and go home, so strong were the local jealousies. At this time Franklin proposed that the convention should be opened each day with prayer, saying: "The longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see that God governs the affairs of men. . . . Without His concurring aid, we shall be divided by our little local interests, succeeding no better than the builders of Babel, and become a reproach and byword for all future ages. What is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance and war." His motion was not put to vote. Again, when there seemed little prospect of an agreement, he is reported to have said: "When a joiner wishes to fit two boards, he sometimes pares off a bit from both." So compromises were made. The small states had been unwill-

ing to give up any of their power, for fear they would be encroached upon by the larger states. This objection was met by allowing every state an equal representation in the Senate. Then the slavery question came up. The extreme South wished the slaves to be counted in apportioning the number of representatives in Congress. This was very distasteful to the middle and northern states, as it would give the South more representatives, and tend to encourage the growth of slavery; but believing that some compromise was essential, they gave way, and agreed that five slaves should be counted as equal to three whites. It was also provided that the foreign slave-trade might be prohibited after the year 1808. This compromise greatly influenced the subsequent history of the country. It practically put the control of the House of Representatives in the hands of the South for about fifty years.

145. A National Question. (1787.) — The Constitution was signed September 17, 1787, given to the public, and was transmitted to the Congress. This body, after a short debate, resolved to forward the document to the respective Legislatures, to be by them placed before the people by means of conventions chosen specially for the purpose of considering it. For the first time, a truly national issue was before the country. The question was: Should the new plan of government be adopted or rejected? Those who favored the adoption were called Federalists, and those who opposed the adoption, Anti-Federalists.

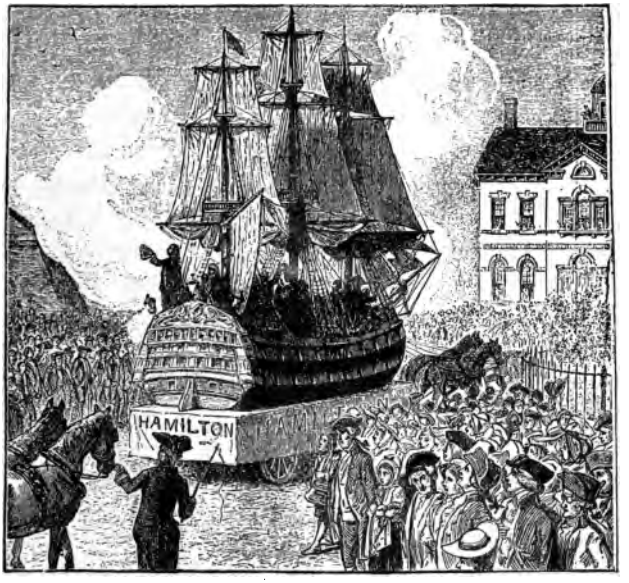
Both parties were patriotic. The Anti-Federalists feared the power of a strong central government, because they thought it would take away too much power from the states, and might result in tyranny similar to that of Great Britain, against which they had revolted. Samuel Adams, Patrick

Henry, and George Clinton were great opposers of the new Constitution, and against their patriotism no word could be spoken. The Federalists, on the contrary, believed that unless a strong central government should be set up, the Union would go to pieces. They did not advocate the new scheme as an ideal form of government, but as the best attainable under the circumstances. They had the twofold advantage of proposing a definite remedy for a pressing and obvious evil, and of having, with a few exceptions, the ablest and most trusted men on their side; for Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Franklin were all earnest supporters of the new plan.

146. "The Federalist." (1788.) — Congress had referred the Constitution to the states without comment, leaving the people to decide for themselves. The questions which had been so earnestly debated in the convention were now taken up by the people and discussed with equal earnestness. Both in public and in private the advantages and disadvantages of the new scheme were pointed out. A remarkable series of papers appeared in the New York newspapers, under the signature of Publius, but written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, strongly advocating the adoption of the Constitution, and explaining its provisions. These papers, of which the greater number were by Hamilton, afterwards collected and published under the title of "The Federalist," still remain one of the ablest treatises upon the Constitution.

147. Adoption of the Constitution. (1788.) — By the close of the year 1787, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had in special conventions adopted the new Constitution; shortly afterwards Georgia and Connecticut followed. The adhesion of four more states was needful for success. Massa-

chusetts acceded only with the understanding that certain amendments should be made as soon as practicable. These amendments were in the nature of a Bill of Rights (see the first ten Amendments to the Constitution). While the question was being decided, public feeling was stretched to the utmost tension, and it was not until June 21, 1788, by the



CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

vote of New Hampshire, that the assent of nine states, the requisite number, was obtained. Virginia followed immediately after New Hampshire, making ten, and New York soon made eleven.[1] When it was known that a sufficient number of states had ratified the Constitution, the Federalists

[1] North Carolina and Rhode Island held aloof; the former until Nov. 21, 1789, *the latter, until May 29, 1790.*

gave themselves up to wild demonstrations of joy. The great event was celebrated by processions with emblematic representations of the states, of the French Alliance, of the Union (as the "Ship of State"), and many other figures representing different trades and interests. In the celebration in New York City the name of Hamilton was inscribed upon the car which bore the "Ship of State," in recognition of his influence in bringing about the wished-for result. In Baltimore the name of "Federal Hill" still remains to preserve the memory of the rejoicings in that city. The necessary number of states having given in their adherence, Congress, on September 13, 1788, appointed the first Wednesday in the following January for the choice by the people of electors of a President, the first Wednesday in February for the electors to meet and choose the President and Vice-President, and the first Wednesday in March for the new government to go into operation. This day in 1789 was the fourth of the month, and so the fourth of March, subsequently confirmed by the Congress, came to be the inauguration day of each new President.

148. The New Constitution. — The new Constitution is radically different from the Articles of Confederation in many points. It provides for a true central government with the power of enforcing its laws and regulations independently of the states; the Congress is no longer an advisory body. Within its sphere the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, the constitutions and laws of the states to the contrary notwithstanding. The national government regulates all matters of national interest, such as peace, war, commerce (both foreign and that between the states), all relations with foreign states, coinage of money, and post-offices. By its exclusive right to levy duties on

imports, as well as its right to lay and collect other taxes and enforce their payment, the national treasury is forever made independent of the states.

The national government is divided by the Constitution into three parts: the Legislative, or Congress, to make the laws; the Executive, or the President and his subordinates, to carry out the laws which Congress makes; and the Judiciary, or the Supreme Court and lower courts, to try all cases arising under national laws. The United States courts also decide whether laws are constitutional, but this can only be done when real cases are brought up for trial.

149. The Legislative Powers. — The legislative power is vested in the Congress of the United States, which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Each state has two senators, who are chosen by the state legislatures, and serve six years. Representatives are chosen by the people of the states; they serve two years, and their number in each state is according to the population, but each state is entitled to at least one representative. These two houses, as they are called, must concur in passing laws. When a law is passed by both houses, it is sent to the President for his signature; if he approves of it, he signs it, and it becomes a law. If he does not approve of it, he returns it to Congress with a message called a veto; if Congress should pass the bill again by a two-thirds vote, it becomes a law in spite of the veto; also if the President does not return the bill within ten days, Sundays excepted, after he receives it, it becomes a law. The Senate has some special powers; when treaties are made by the President, they must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate before they become effective; most of the President's appointments to offices must also be confirmed by the Senate. The election *of senators is so* arranged that only one-third go

out of office every two years, thus making it a continuous body, unlike the House of Representatives, which must be elected anew every two years. (This does not prevent representatives from being re-elected if the people desire it.)

150. The Executive. — The executive power is vested in a President of the United States of America. He holds his office during the term of four years; he is chosen nominally by electors elected by the people. It was originally expected that the electors would choose a man for President, but now they always choose that man who has been nominated by the party which they represent. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and the navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service of the United States; he has the power to make treaties, providing two-thirds of the Senate concur; to nominate and, with the consent of the Senate, appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and most of the important officers of the government. He is to take care that the laws are faithfully executed, and if he is unfaithful or guilty of any crime or misdemeanor, he may be accused by the House of Representatives and tried by the Senate. A Vice-President is elected at the same time as the President to take his place in case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the duties of the office. The Vice-President is the presiding officer of the Senate, but has no vote except in the case of a tie. Both the President and the Vice-President must be native-born citizens of the United States and be at least thirty-five years old.

151. The Judiciary. — The judicial power of the United States is vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior

courts as the Congress may from time to time establish. All the judges hold office during good behavior. Whenever any of the laws of the national government are broken, or a question arises as to the meaning of a law, or as to whether any law is in accordance with the Constitution, the case, with a few exceptions, is tried in one of the inferior courts. If the persons concerned are not satisfied with the decision, they may appeal to a higher court, and in certain cases to the Supreme Court whose decision is final.

152. Amendment; Checks and Balances. — One of the most important features of the Constitution is the provision made for amendment; but no change can be made without the concurrence of three-fourths of the states; and no state can in any case be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

It will be seen that the new government is full of checks and balances, the most important of which are two houses of Congress, the veto power of the President, the power of the Supreme Court to pronounce a law unconstitutional, and the frequent election of representatives. The Constitution is "perhaps the most remarkable monument of political wisdom known to history. The convention which framed it was composed of the choicest material in the community, and was led astray by no theories of what might be good, but clave closely to what experience had demonstrated to be good."

CHAPTER VIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

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153. Washington President; Starting the New Government. (1789.) — The 4th of March was the day fixed upon for the

new government to go into operation, but so slow were the members of Congress in reaching New York, the place chosen, that it was the 6th of April before a quorum of both houses was present. On that day the electoral votes for President and Vice-President were counted in the presence of both houses, in Federal Hall, and the result officially declared. George Washington, as had been expected, received a unanimous vote, and was accordingly chosen



FEDERAL HALL, 1789.

President. John Adams, receiving the next highest number, was declared Vice-President. As soon as Washington received the official news of his election, which was carried to him by a special messenger, Charles Thomson, the secretary of the old Continental Congress, he set out from Mount Vernon for New York. His journey was a continuous triumphal procession; "men, women, and children of all ages, classes, and conditions gathered by the roadside, and often stood in waiting for many hours to see him as he passed by." "Guns were fired, *triumphal* arches were erected, and flow-

ers were strewn in the roads over which his carriage was to pass." He was most enthusiastically received at New York, but it was not until April 30th, six days after his arrival, that everything was ready for the inauguration. The ceremony took place between the two central pillars of the balcony of Federal Hall, which stood on the corner of Wall and Broad streets, where the United States Sub-Treasury Building now is. There, in the presence of Congress and of a great multitude of people, Washington took the oath of office, which was administered by Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of the state of New York. The union thus perfected consisted of eleven states.

154. Ordinance of 1787. — Meanwhile the old Continental Congress for a long time had done little that is worthy of mention; but one act, passed while the constitutional convention was in session, deserves special notice. This is what is known as the ordinance of 1787, for organizing the Northwest Territory. This was the territory which was ceded to the United States by Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and Connecticut, and comprised the country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. The chief provisions were that not less than three nor more than five states should be formed out of it; that slavery should forever be prohibited within its borders; that there should be perfect religious freedom; that schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged; and that the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury should be guaranteed. A form of government was provided for, and the territory was divided into parts, but when each division had a population of 60,000, that division might become a state if certain conditions were complied with. This ordinance met the approval of the new Congress, and under its provision Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,

Michigan, and Wisconsin have become states. It has also been the model for the organization of all the subsequent territories, though some of its provisions have been left out, notably that respecting slavery. Though it had been one of the most noteworthy assemblies that the world has ever seen, the Continental Congress closed its career unnoticed and almost in contemptuous neglect. Its history has never been written as it deserves to be. The last roll-call was on October 10, 1788.

155. **Organization.** (1789.) — The first task which lay before the new Congress was the organization of the government. How successfully this was done is shown by the fact that the organization to-day is in all essential points unchanged from what was then established. Four of the executive departments were established during the first session: State, War, Treasury, and Justice. At the head of these Washington placed respectively Jefferson, Knox, Hamilton, and Randolph. As Chief Justice of the Supreme Court he appointed John Jay. Among other important measures which demanded the attention of Congress were amendments to the Constitution; twelve were proposed; most of them were intended to guard the rights and privileges of the people and those of the states. Ten of these, subsequently adopted (1791) by three-fourths of the states, became incorporated with the Constitution as the first ten Amendments. It may be safely said that these "took from the Union no power it ought ever to have exercised."

156. **Revenue.** (1789.) — The next question was of the utmost importance, that of raising revenue. It was the subject which had really brought the adoption of the Con-

stitution. Congress had now full power to carry it out. There are two main sources from which nations usually draw revenue: taxes on imports and taxes on domestic manufactures, and both of these were now used. It is interesting to note that in the "Tariff-for-revenue" act of this first Congress under the Constitution, the principle of protection to domestic manufactures was observed in the title of the bill, and that iron, hemp, cotton, salt, and other articles were slightly protected. A tax on the home manufacture of spirits was also provided for in 1791. The Ordinance of 1787 (sect. 154) was confirmed. Before Congress met for the second session, North Carolina had ratified the Constitution, leaving Rhode Island to follow soon.

157. The First Congress; Capital. (1790.) — Among the measures passed at this session were a census act, a naturalization act, a patent act, and a copyright act. But the most important measure of all was the plan proposed by Hamilton for paying the debt of the United States. The credit of the country was at its lowest, the interest on the debt of the old Confederacy was long overdue, while the holders of the obligations at home had almost given up the hope of being paid. Hamilton thought that nothing would help the country in the eyes of the world more than the payment of the foreign debt; he believed also that the Union would be greatly strengthened, not only by the payment of the domestic obligations, but also by the assumption by the government of the state debts as well. The total amount to be provided for, including back interest, was nearly eighty millions of dollars, a vast sum for those days. After much difficulty Hamilton's plan was carried, but only by means of a compromise in respect to the situation of the permanent capital of the nation. It was agreed that the South should give up her



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.



opposition to the assumption of the state debts, and the North should allow the national capital to be on the banks of the Potomac. It was also agreed that the seat of government should be at Philadelphia until 1800, when it should be moved to the permanent site.

158. **New States; Indian Wars.** (1790–1794.) — At its third session the First Congress was called upon to exercise another important power — that of admitting new states to the Union, and acts were passed providing for the admission of Vermont and Kentucky, which were admitted in 1791 and 1792 respectively. Meantime the settlers had been pushing their way westward, entering the territory which the Indian claimed as his own. Resenting this intrusion, the Indians attacked the settlements all along the frontier, and killed or carried into captivity hundreds of settlers. So numerous were these attacks that the government was forced to send troops to the frontier. Several of these expeditions were unsuccessful, and an army under General St. Clair was surprised and routed with great loss of life. It was not until 1794, when General Wayne was sent against them, that the Indians were forced to submit, and to give up a large tract of land in return for a yearly payment of money and goods.

159. **Whiskey Insurrection; (1794); Eli Whitney.** — A new danger threatened the government. Among the acts of Congress was the passage of a law taxing whiskey. This tax the distillers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay, on the ground that they were treated unfairly, it being impossible for them to transport grain to market except at a loss, while in the form of whiskey it could be done at a profit. So threatening was their attitude, that Washington felt compelled to send some troops to Pittsburg. The promptness of

the government and the display of force was sufficient to restore order. This affair is known as the Whiskey Insurrection.

While the attention of the country was attracted by questions of domestic and foreign policy, a young man of twenty-eight invented, in Georgia, a machine which was indirectly to influence the history of the country far more than the subjects then filling the popular mind. This was the cotton-gin. Eli Whitney was a native of Massachusetts, and had gone South for the purpose of teaching. He had already shown inventive abilities, and, while staying at the house of the widow of General Greene, had his attention called to the difficulty of separating the fibre of the cotton from the seed. He devised (1793) the cotton-gin, by means of which one person could clean one thousand pounds of cotton in a day. Formerly it took one day to clean one pound. This machine gave an enormous impetus to the raising of cotton, and this brought about a great demand for slave labor, by which it was supposed the plant could alone be successfully cultivated. The cultivation of cotton rapidly became the chief staple of the southern states, the exports rising from eight bags in 1784 to 21,000,000 pounds in 1801. The feeling against slavery soon almost disappeared in the South, and with few exceptions the system was upheld as a "positive good." Eli Whitney himself reaped comparatively little advantage from his great



ELI WHITNEY.

invention, nearly all the money he received being spent in defending his patents.

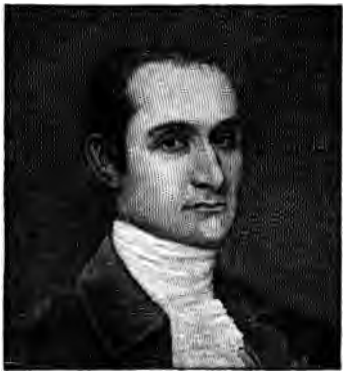
160. Party Feeling. (1789–1796.) — Washington, in forming his Cabinet, chose men from both parties; thus, Hamilton, the leader of the Federalists, and Jefferson, the leader of the Anti-Federalists, were both members of it. It was not long before party spirit showed itself, and party lines were clearly drawn, and Washington's patience and skill were again put to a test in keeping the peace in the Cabinet, where, Jefferson says, "I and Hamilton were pitted against each other like fighting-cocks." In Congress, and in the country at large, public questions were also hotly discussed, and it is doubtful if party feeling ever ran higher in this country. The Federalists believed in a strong central government; that the power of the individual states should be greatly limited, and that of the central government correspondingly increased. The Anti-Federalists, or, as they now began to call themselves, the Democratic-Republicans, on the other hand, believed that the state governments should have all the power that was possible. They feared that local rights and privileges would be curtailed, and some of them even thought that the Federalists were trying to set up a monarchy. The Democratic-Republicans were strongest in the South; the Federalists, in the North. The former were great admirers of everything French; the latter were accused of sympathy with England and English institutions.

161. Affairs in Europe. (1793.) — Meanwhile, affairs in Europe were very much disturbed. In France the reforming movement, which was felt in all Europe, stimulated by able writers, had culminated in a bloody revolution. The great majority of the inhabitants of the United States hailed this

revolution with joy at first; but soon the dreadful excesses which were committed in the name of liberty changed the feeling of Americans. The French had set up a republic, and expected that the United States would of course aid them in the war which had broken out between France and England. Washington and the more sober-minded men saw that the true policy of the United States was to keep out of European quarrels, and he announced that the country would be strictly neutral. The French republic had sent out as minister a man by the name of Genet, who disregarded Washington's proclamation, and proceeded to enlist men for the French army, and fit out privateers for the French service. Genet paid no attention to the remonstrances of the American government, and so Washington had to request his recall by the French. If this course had not been followed, war would have taken place with Great Britain.

162. Jay's Treaty; Other Treaties. (1794–1796.) — France was not the only nation with which the United States had cause for complaint. Great Britain had not fulfilled part of the treaty of 1783, for she retained many of the western and northern posts, among them Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, and had refused to make compensation for the negroes carried off at the end of the war; she also seized American vessels on the ocean on various pretexts. The reason of this course was that Great Britain did not believe in the permanency of the Confederation, nor in the power of the United States to resist. On the other hand, Great Britain complained that it was impossible for her citizens to collect their just debts in America. So strong was the feeling in America that war seemed inevitable. In the hope of averting this calamity, Washington sent John Jay to England to try to negotiate a treaty which would settle the causes of irritation. Jay was

at this time Chief Justice of the United States, but there was so little business before the Supreme Court that he could be absent for months without injury. He returned in 1795 with the treaty which has since borne his name. It was severely criticised, for it did not abolish the right claimed by Great Britain to search American vessels for British seamen, nor did it take away the cause for complaint in relation to trade with the West Indies. It did, however, provide for the giving up of the forts on the border, for commercial regulations, and for the settlement of debts. Jay's own defence was, that it was the best that could be done. Washington signed the treaty, and the result showed the wisdom of his so doing. Bad as the treaty was in many respects, it averted a war, it settled several important matters, and it forced England to recognize the United States in a way she had not done hitherto.



JOHN JAY.

A treaty was made with Spain, fixing the boundaries between the United States and the Spanish possessions in America, granting free navigation of the Mississippi to each, and also making regulations as to commerce. Treaties were also made with Algiers and Tripoli, but at a cost of a yearly tribute to those powers. By these latter treaties, prisoners were released, and the United States commerce was to be unmolested.

163. Washington's Farewell Address. (1796.) — As the close of his second term approached, Washington gave to

the public his determination not to be a candidate a third time. Before resuming the position of a private citizen, for which he longed, he issued his Farewell Address, a document full of political wisdom and wise advice. The address is dated September 17, 1796, and was first printed in Claypole's *American Daily Advertiser* for September 19, 1796. Though Washington was assisted in its composition by Hamilton and others, there seems to be no doubt that, in all important respects, it was his own work. In it he exhorts the people to preserve the Union; to avoid sectional feelings; to avoid "overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty"; to beware of hasty changes of the Constitution; to guard against the excess of party spirit; to make religion and morality the foundation of the government, remembering that "reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles." He advises that the diffusion of knowledge should be promoted, and the public credit cherished, as being important sources of strength and security; that good faith and credit should be observed towards all nations, but that the people should be "constantly awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence," and that, in regard to foreign nations, the great rule should be, "in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connections as possible."

164. Election of Adams. (1796.) — With the election of 1796 began political strife for the office of President, for there had been no opposition to Washington. Now, however, a great deal of that party spirit was shown against which he had spoken in his Farewell Address. The Federalist electors voted for John Adams, the Vice-President; and the Democratic-Republicans, for Thomas Jefferson. A majority

of the votes were for Adams, who was accordingly elected. Jefferson had the next highest number of votes, so he became Vice-President. A serious defect in the Constitution was now seen, in that it almost insured the election in future of a President and Vice-President from different parties. Such a state of affairs would tend to bring about a lack of harmony in the administration, and in case of the death of the President, one who did not represent the views of the majority would succeed to the office. A change was made in the mode of electing in 1804. (See Appendix III., Constitution, Amendment xii.)

165. Difficulties with France. (1797.) — Adams found the country in friendly relations with all foreign states except France, to which country Jay's treaty was very distasteful. The United States was charged with favoring Great Britain and granting her privileges denied to France; the French minister in America was ordered to return by the French Directory, and almost immediately after the inauguration of Adams the American minister was refused recognition by the French government. Napoleon Bonaparte's great victories in Italy over the Austrian forces gave the French government confidence, and laws injurious to American commerce were passed, American vessels were seized, and the vessels and cargoes sold.



JOHN ADAMS.

Adams was anxious to avoid war. Following Washington's example, *he sent a special* mission to France, selecting John

Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and Charles C. Pinckney as envoys, who were, if possible, to arrange matters, and negotiate a new treaty which would be satisfactory to both France and the United States. These envoys were treated with great indignity by the French government, and were told that before any negotiations were begun a large sum of money must be paid to the Directory. Such a course was spurned by the envoys, who were soon ordered to leave France. This they did, and the United States government published the remarkable correspondence which had passed between the envoys and the secret agents of the Directory. This is known as the "X. Y. Z. correspondence." These papers and the report of the envoys had the effect of uniting the American people, and in accordance with the popular feeling, Congress prepared for war with France. The treaties with her were declared revoked; acts were passed to increase the army and navy, Washington being appointed commander of the former; naval vessels were ordered to capture French armed ships, and under this order several French vessels were taken.

166. Alien and Sedition Laws; Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. (1798–1799.) — The Federalists, always opposed to France and French influence, were greatly strengthened by the turn affairs had taken, and during the time of excitement had succeeded in passing through Congress two measures known as the Alien and Sedition Laws. The first allowed the President at his discretion to order out of the country any alien whom he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States; and should any such refuse to go, he was, upon conviction, to be imprisoned. The Sedition law provided that those who should unlawfully combine or conspire against the government, or who should utter or publish *anything* false, scandalous, or malicious against it, should

be imprisoned and heavily fined. These acts were to be in force for two and three years respectively. To the Democratic-Republicans both these laws were extremely distasteful, but particularly the Sedition law; this they charged with being a violation of the first amendment to the Constitution. As a protest against these measures, the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky each passed a series of resolutions, respectively known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798.[1] Jefferson drafted those adopted by the Kentucky legislature, and Madison those adopted by the Virginia. Neither of these statesmen in after years took pride in his connection with these documents. The substance of these documents was that these special acts of Congress were unconstitutional, and that whenever the Federal government went beyond its powers, the states should unite in refusing obedience. Apart from the doubtful constitutionality of the Alien and Sedition acts, they were exceedingly inexpedient, and proved the occasion of the downfall of the Federalist party. The President did not in a single instance make use of the Alien act, and the convictions under the Sedition act were not very many. Both acts expired by limitation.

167. Treaty with France; Death of Washington. (1799–1801.) — Meanwhile, Adams had sent three new envoys to France who negotiated a new treaty with Napoleon Bonaparte, who had become First Consul of France. This treaty (1801) was satisfactory to all except those who had lost property by the capture of vessels or in other ways. Such persons in both countries had to look to their own government to make good their losses. This is the origin of the so-called "French Spoliation Claims," which are still partly

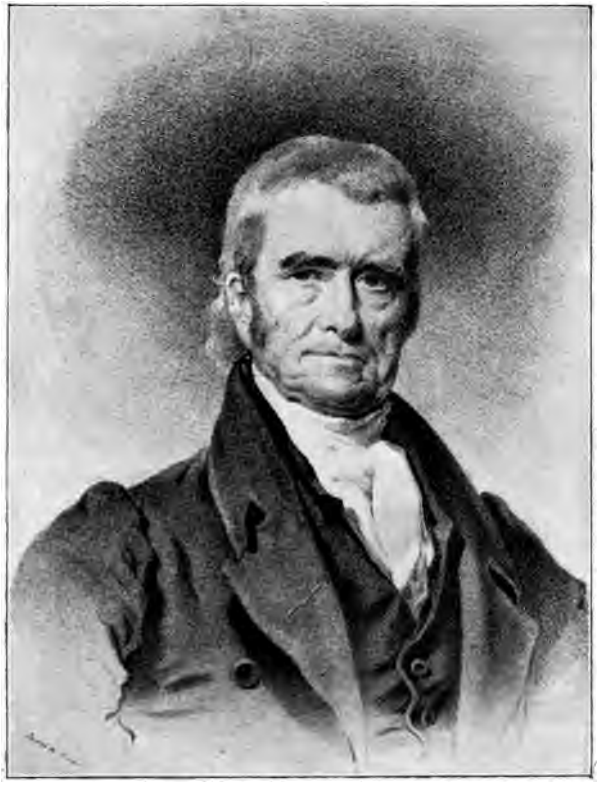
[1] *Kentucky* added another resolution in 1799.

unsettled, greatly to the discredit of the country. Party strife was for a short time held in check by the death of Washington at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799. The whole country mourned for him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." In Europe his death was regarded as a loss to mankind, and tributes to his worth were published in every civilized country.

168. The New Capital; Marshall. (1801.) — In 1800 the seat of government was moved to Washington on the Potomac, which had been chosen as the site of the new capital. The corner-stone of the Capitol building had been laid by Washington himself in 1791. For many years it was in fact what it had been called in jest, "a city of magnificent distances." Laid out on a very large scale, it was for seventy years only a straggling, ill-built town.

In 1801 Adams appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of the United States in place of Oliver Ellsworth, who had resigned on account of ill health. For thirty-four years Marshall was at the head of the national judiciary, his influence upon his associates was great, and the "Constitution since its adoption owes more to him than to any other single mind for its true interpretation and vindication."

169. Jefferson President. (1801.) — As the time came near for the election of a new President, it was evident that the Democratic-Republicans were in the majority, for the Federalists had fallen greatly in public esteem by their ill-concealed distrust of the people at large, but especially by the passage of the Alien and Sedition acts. The candidate of the Democratic-Republicans was Thomas Jefferson; of the Federalists, John Adams. When the electoral votes were



JOHN MARSHALL.

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counted, it was found that Jefferson and Burr, both Republicans, had a majority of the votes, but that each had received an equal number of votes. There was, therefore, no election, and by the Constitution the House of Representatives had to choose which should be President. The House, which had been elected two years before, had a Federalist majority, but were restricted in choice to candidates of the opposite party;[1] on the thirty-sixth ballot for President, Jefferson was chosen, and Aaron Burr became Vice-President.

170. Federalist Influence. — The Federalists seldom, if ever, had a real popular majority, and it was due to the great influence of Washington, and the implicit confidence felt in him, and also, no doubt, to the skill of Hamilton and other party leaders, that the party had retained control of the government as long as it did. Short as was this control, it had a great and permanent influence upon the country, for under it our whole system of government was shaped and set in motion. The decisions of the Supreme Court, moreover, which were deservedly much influenced by Marshall, have been mainly on Federalist lines of thought, though there have been some great exceptions, since 1835, the year of Marshall's death.

[1] Constitution, Article II. sect. i. [3].

CHAPTER IX.

EXPERIMENTS IN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY.

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171. Jefferson inaugurated. (1801.) — The inaugural address of Jefferson was awaited with the greatest curiosity, and to the surprise of all it was a calm, dignified document, in which he foretold confidently that the great experiment of government which the people of the United States were

trying would be a success. He said that, "though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable, that the minority possess their equal rights. . . . Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. . . . We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." Jefferson's policy was: (1) To pay the debt as soon as practicable; (2) To keep out of foreign politics; (3) To introduce as much simplicity as possible into the methods and routine of government. Though Jefferson advocated simplicity in public life, at his own home he lived in the style of other Virginia gentlemen. It is interesting to note that all his Cabinet were men "of liberal and cultivated tastes."

172. **Agreements between Spain and France.** (1802.) — By the treaty of 1763, in which France gave up her possessions in America to England, Spain had acquired all the country west of the Mississippi, and in 1783 the Floridas were restored to her. There had been numerous disputes between Spain and the United States, both in regard to boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi. Soon after Jefferson came into office it was learned that Spain had by secret treaty, in 1800, transferred her Louisiana possessions to France. In 1802 the Spanish governor of Louisiana, pending the formal transfer of the province to France, forbade the storage by foreigners of merchandise at New Orleans. This right of deposit, as it was called, had been given to the United States by previous treaty, and the refusal at once caused great excitement in the west; it was, moreover, a very different thing to have France a neighbor instead of having weak Spain. Jefferson accordingly gave instructions to the minister to France to procure the cession of New Orleans to the United States, by purchase if possible, and also sent *Monroe as a special* envoy to Paris.

173. Louisiana bought. (1803.) — At first Napoleon would have nothing to do with the scheme, as he had vast plans of colonization of his own. But soon the relations between France and England were such that a renewal of the war was imminent, and he needed money; and aware that he could not hold Louisiana against England's strong naval power, he suddenly determined to offer to the United States, not New Orleans only, but the whole province as it had been ceded from Spain. Though the American envoys had no authority to do more than negotiate for the purchase of New Orleans and territory east of the Mississippi, they assumed the responsibility of accepting this offer, as they recognized the vast importance of such an acquisition of territory. The bargain was concluded, and the treaty was signed April 30, 1803. By the terms of this treaty the United States was to pay France a sum of about $15,000,000. About one fourth of this sum, however, was to satisfy claims of American citizens on France. The exact boundaries of the purchase were not known, and in point of fact were not settled for many years.

The action of the envoys was pleasing to the great majority of the citizens of the United States, though many of the Federalists opposed it on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and others because they thought the country was too large already. Jefferson, a "strict constructionist," believed that it would be needful to pass an amendment to the Constitution, but did not press the matter; and since that day no one has questioned the right of the nation to acquire territory by purchase. Congress approved of the measure at a special session by a large majority. Possession was taken December 20, 1803. This, "probably the largest transaction in real estate the world has ever known," delighted the western settlers and pleased the people at large; but hardly any one could have had an idea of its vast importance to the

future welfare of the country. By a most wonderful combination of circumstances the area of the United States was doubled in extent, and the country given the opportunity to expand without fear of foreign enemies; scarcely ever has a stroke of the pen accomplished more.[1]

174. Lewis and Clark Expedition. (1804–1806.) — In 1804 Jefferson sent two officers of the army, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, with an expedition to explore the country of the Louisiana Purchase, especially the northern and northwestern parts. They followed the Missouri River towards its source, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and discovering part of the upper Columbia River, followed it to the Pacific Ocean. Their whole trip took about three years, and a narrative of their expedition was published on their return. The claim of the United States to the territory out of which Oregon and Washington territories were afterwards formed, was chiefly based on this discovery of Lewis and Clark, and on the fact that in 1792 a Boston trader, Robert Gray, had visited the mouth of a river, which he called the Columbia after one of his vessels.

175. War with Barbary States. (1801–1804.) — There had been much trouble with the Barbary States; their pirates attacked American shipping, seized the cargoes, destroyed the vessels, and sold the crews into slavery. For many years the United States, like some of the nations of Europe, paid a yearly tribute to escape injury to her commerce. The pirates became more and more exacting in their demands, until in 1801 the Dey of Tripoli, incensed at the rejection of his

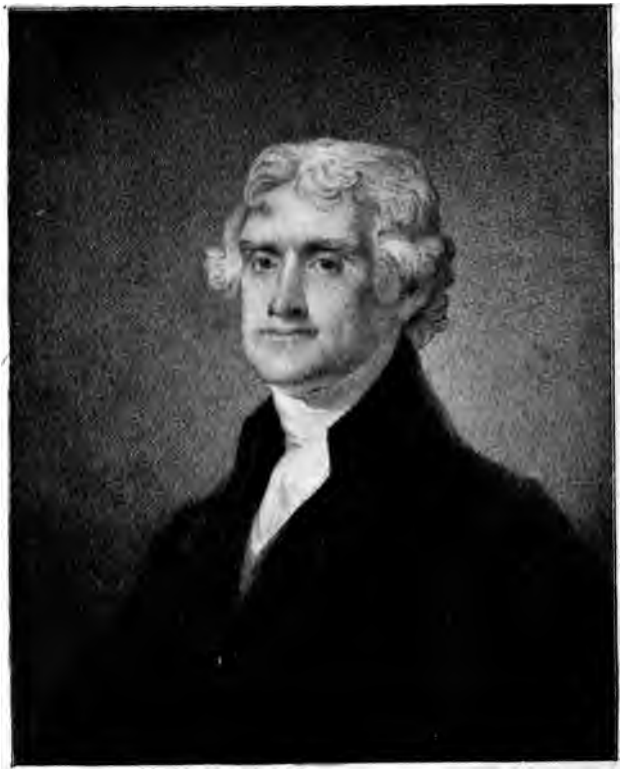
[1] The boundaries of Louisiana were very indefinite, the western portion of the territory being an unknown region both to France and the United States. It is now recognized that Oregon was not a part of the purchase. Spain claimed it until 1819, when she gave up the claim in the Florida treaty.

demand for increased tribute, declared war against the United States. This war dragged on until 1804, when the government sent a larger naval force to the Mediterranean and compelled Tripoli to make a treaty of peace, the most satisfactory ever wrung from a Barbary state up to that time. It was not, however, until 1815 that these pirates were finally suppressed.

176. Rotation in Office; Naturalization; Ohio admitted. (1802–3.) — Though the practice of rotation in office was followed under the Confederation, and many in the Democratic-Republican party approved of it, Jefferson removed very few (twenty-six in all) of the Federal officials whom he found in office. He himself said "I will return with joy to that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

In 1802 a new naturalization law was passed, requiring a residence of five years before an alien can become a citizen of the United States. (This time is still required, 1896.) Internal taxes were done away with in the same year, but in consequence of the Tripolitan war the duties on imports were increased. Ohio, the first state formed out of the Northwest Territory, and the seventeenth of the Union, was admitted in the year 1803. Its growth was remarkable, for the first distinctively American settlement was that of Marietta in 1788, and in 1800 the population of Ohio was 45,365. So favorable were the conditions of growth that in 1820 this state took its place as fifth in point of population, and from the census of 1840 until that of 1890 it was surpassed by New York and Pennsylvania only.

177. Hamilton and Burr. — In the summer of 1804 the country was startled by the news that Alexander Hamilton



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

had been killed in a duel by Aaron Burr, the Vice-President. The prominence of the men increased the horror felt in regard to such a barbarous custom. Burr had already become unpopular and distrusted by his party, and so had not been renominated for Vice-President. This disappointed man collected a force of men, either for the purpose of setting up a government of his own within the Louisiana Territory, or for attacking the Spanish possessions. In 1807 he was arrested on a charge of treason, and was taken to Richmond, Virginia, for trial before Judge Marshall, but the prosecution failed for want of evidence, as well as for want of jurisdiction. Disgraced and ruined, he soon disappeared from public view, and died in neglect and poverty in 1836.

178. Jefferson re-elected; Public Improvements. (1805.) — Jefferson was renominated for President in 1804, with George Clinton of New York as candidate for Vice-President. The Federalists nominated C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York. In accordance with the twelfth amendment of the Constitution, ratified September 25, 1804, the electors cast separate ballots for President, and Vice-President respectively. Jefferson and Clinton were chosen by a very large majority, the Federalists only receiving 14 out of 176 electoral votes.

At the beginning of Jefferson's second term everything seemed in a highly prosperous state, the country was increasing rapidly in wealth and population, and the debt was being paid off at a rate which would soon extinguish it. The President suggested in his inaugural that an amendment should be made to the Constitution to provide for the just division among the states of the surplus revenue to be applied to objects of public improvement, such as " rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within

each state." Congress, however, believed that the power to appropriate money for public improvements was given or implied in the Constitution, and it exercised this assumed power in voting money in 1806 for a national road west from Cumberland in the state of Maryland. In view of the enormous sums voted for public improvements in late years, especially in the periodical "River and Harbor Bill," and the tendency to seek national aid in almost every enterprise, it is interesting to remember that the legality of such a measure was once seriously called in question. An extensive plan of improvement was projected, but, owing to unexpected circumstances, was not carried out. In 1807, in accord with the Constitution (Art. I., sect. 9), Congress passed a bill prohibiting the foreign slave trade after January 1, 1808.[1]

179. Affairs in Europe; Napoleon. (1804–1807.) — Though affairs were prosperous at home, things were very different in Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1804, became Emperor of France, and the war with Great Britain was prosecuted with greater vigor than ever. For a time the United States had profited greatly by this state of things, for, being a neutral power, her ships could trade with all belligerent nations, and in this way much of the carrying trade of the world fell into her hands, bringing wealth to her citizens. But Great Britain resolved to put a stop to this neutral trade, and in 1806 issued a proclamation, declaring that all the ports in Europe between Brest and the mouth of the river Elbe were closed, or blockaded, and warning all vessels not to attempt to enter them. Napoleon retaliated by his Berlin Decree, which declared the British Isles to be in a state of

[1] Notwithstanding this law, it is estimated that about 15,000 negroes were surreptitiously brought into the country every year by men of all sections, *who, for the love of gain*, engaged in the nefarious trade.

blockade, forbade France or any of her allies to trade with them, and ordered the confiscation of all British merchandise. England, in 1807, met this decree with her "Orders in Council," by which she declared all ports blockaded from which the British flag was excluded, and prohibited a neutral from selling ships to the belligerent power, and forbade all vessels to trade with France or any of her allies. This restricted American commerce to England and Sweden. Napoleon again retaliated with his Milan Decree, in which he declared any vessel a lawful prize which obeyed the English "Orders in Council."

180. Injuries to American Commerce. (**1807.**) — Between France and England the American commerce suffered greatly; for, if a vessel went to Europe, unless she touched at an English port and paid dues or taxes on her cargo, she ran the risk of being taken by English men-of-war; while, if she followed this course, she ran the risk of being seized by the French, should she attempt to enter any Continental port. Besides this, England claimed the right to stop all vessels to see if there were any British sailors on board; if any were found, these were seized, or impressed, as it was called, taken on board the war vessel, and compelled to serve in the British navy. England had long claimed this right, and it may be remembered that Jay had vainly tried to get England to abandon this claim when he negotiated his treaty in 1795. As the American commerce increased, these impressments became more frequent, and the English officers more and more overbearing in their actions, until at length the British frigate *Leopard* stopped the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, off the Chesapeake Bay, when in no condition to fight, and by force compelled her commander *to give up four of his men* whom the British captain claimed

to be British citizens. This gross indignity was resented by all Americans, and almost precipitated war. It was not until 1811 that reparation for this outrage was offered and accepted.

181. Embargo. (**1807–1809.**) — Jefferson soon issued a proclamation warning British cruisers not to enter American ports; and called an extra session of Congress to decide what should be done. Jefferson, greatly averse to war, for which he knew the country was in no condition, recommended what he thought would be most effectual under any circumstances — an embargo. Congress acted promptly on this suggestion, and passed the Embargo Act of 1807. This act forbade the departure of any vessel for any foreign port; foreign vessels were forbidden to load in American ports; and vessels in the coasting trade were required to give bond that they would not trade outside the United States. This experiment was a total failure. "American shipping ceased to exist, American commerce was annihilated, American seamen were forced to seek employment under the British flag, and British ships and British commerce alone occupied the ocean." The opposition to this measure first came from New England, whose citizens were chiefly interested in commerce. They saw their chief means of support destroyed at a blow; and, after ineffectual attempts to get this act repealed, they gradually turned their attention to other pursuits, and manufacturing became their chief interest, rendering them to a large degree independent of the sea. In the southern and agricultural states the effect of the embargo came more slowly, but was severely felt, for they found that a foreign outlet for their crops was essential to prosperity. So in 1809 Congress was compelled to modify its former action by what is known as the Non-intercourse Act. This removed all restrictions except as regarded England and France.

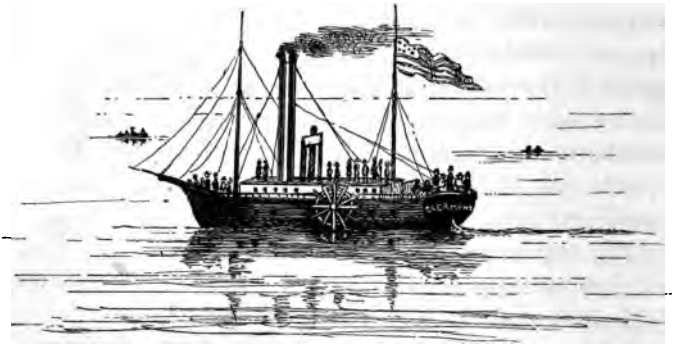
182. Madison President; Robert Fulton; Tecumseh. (1808–1811.) — The Embargo Act was the one great error of Jefferson's administration; but, in spite of its unpopularity, the Republicans in the Presidential election of 1808 elected their candidates, James Madison of Virginia and George Clinton of New York, by a large majority of electoral votes. Madison, who has been called the "Father of the Constitution," from the large share he took in bringing about the Constitutional Convention, the prominent position he held in that body, and his advocacy of the adoption of the document, was a man of wide acquirements, particularly in legal and political sciences, but possessing a theoretical and constructive mind rather than an executive one. His occupancy of the Presidential chair is the least attractive part of his political career, and his lack of executive ability was very evident during his first term of office.



ROBERT FULTON.

It was during Jefferson's administration that one of the greatest inventions of modern times was brought to public view. Robert Fulton, born in Pennsylvania, of Irish parentage, after being a portrait painter, then a civil engineer and an inventor, had his attention turned towards the steam-engine, and devised a steamboat. With the pecuniary assistance of Robert R. Livingston of New York, he built a steamboat in Paris, which was apparently a failure. Not discouraged, an attempt was made again in 1807, this time in New York. The *Clermont*, as the vessel was called, started from New

York, amid the jeers of the lookers-on, for Albany. The crowd soon applauded, however, for the experiment was a perfect success, the *Clermont* keeping on at the rate of five miles an hour. Though others, notably John Fitch in Pennsylvania in 1788, had attempted to propel vessels by steam and had been partially successful, to Fulton belongs the credit of inventing the first really practical steamboat. Had Fitch had the encouragement and the financial backing



THE "CLERMONT."

which Fulton received, he might have anticipated the later invention.

In 1811 a war broke out between the Indians of Indiana Territory and the United States. British agents were believed to have stirred up the red men and to have helped them. The Indians, in the absence of Tecumseh, their chief, were totally defeated by General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe, near the modern city of Lafayette, Indiana.

Louisiana was admitted as a state in 1812. Many opposed this action, partly on the ground that the country was "already too extensive for a republican form of government."

CHAPTER X.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

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JAMES MADISON.

183. Declaration of War. (1812.) — The majority of the people, except in New England, clamored for war with England. Madison, in his message to Congress of June 1, 1812, set forth the grievances of the United States against Great Britain. These were: the impressment of American seamen; violation of neutral rights on the American coast by the British cruisers; the British "Orders in Council"; and *the inciting the Indians* against the United States. On June

18, 1812, Congress passed an act declaring war against Great Britain. Only five days later England repealed the "Orders in Council," so injurious to American commerce. It is unlikely that even if Congress had known of England's purpose the declaration would have been withheld, for the party in power were eager to fight, and besides, there was no assurance that the impressment of seamen would be given up. How great was this impressment may be seen from the statement that at one time the names of 6000 men who had been thus seized were on file in the Department of State. The extent of the injury done to the commerce is shown by the fact that between 1803 and 1812, on various pretexts, more than 900 vessels had been captured by British cruisers.

184. The United States ill-prepared for War. (1812.) — The country was ill-prepared for war with any nation, least of all with Great Britain, whose navy numbered about 1000 vessels, while that of the United States could only muster twelve moderate sized vessels besides some useless gunboats, relics of Jefferson's administration. The land forces were ridiculously inadequate, undisciplined, miserably equipped, and officered by incompetent men. Though the navy was so small, the vessels were the best of their class afloat, and were well armed. The officers and men were skilful and well trained by experience in the Tripolitan war. These two facts explain the British successes on land and the American victories on the water. The country plunged rashly into a war which, like most wars, resulted in little which could not have been gained by negotiation.

185. American Failures; Perry's Victory. (1812–1813.) — Congress quickly authorized military preparations. The plan of operation was to attack Canada and defend the coast. Henry Dearborn, an officer of the Revolution and

Secretary of War under Jefferson, was made senior major-general. To General William Hull, the governor of Michigan Territory, another Revolutionary man, was intrusted the conduct of the invasion of Canada on the west. He soon surrendered Detroit, the key position of the west, without a blow in its defence, and with it the whole of Michigan Territory fell into the hands of the British.[1] An attempt to invade Canada by crossing the Niagara River was also a complete failure. Dearborn early in 1813 personally led an expedition against York, now Toronto; but, after destroying some supplies and unwisely burning the government buildings, retreated to New York, and soon after resigned his position. General William Henry Harrison, to whom had been given the command of the army of the west, tried to recover Detroit, but was unsuccessful. In the fall of 1813 Captain Oliver H. Perry, who had built a small navy on Lake Erie, completely defeated the British naval force near Sandusky, thus opening the way for Harrison's army to advance again upon Detroit, capture it, and pass into Canada. Soon after, meeting the combined Indian and British forces near the river Thames, Harrison routed them in battle, and Tecumseh, the Indian chief, was killed. This victory restored Michigan and the Northwest to the United States, and put an end to the war in that part of the country.

The skill of the American naval officers and the excellence of the American seamen and vessels were equally manifest on the ocean. During 1812 and 1813 the British were greatly surprised at a number of naval victories by the American

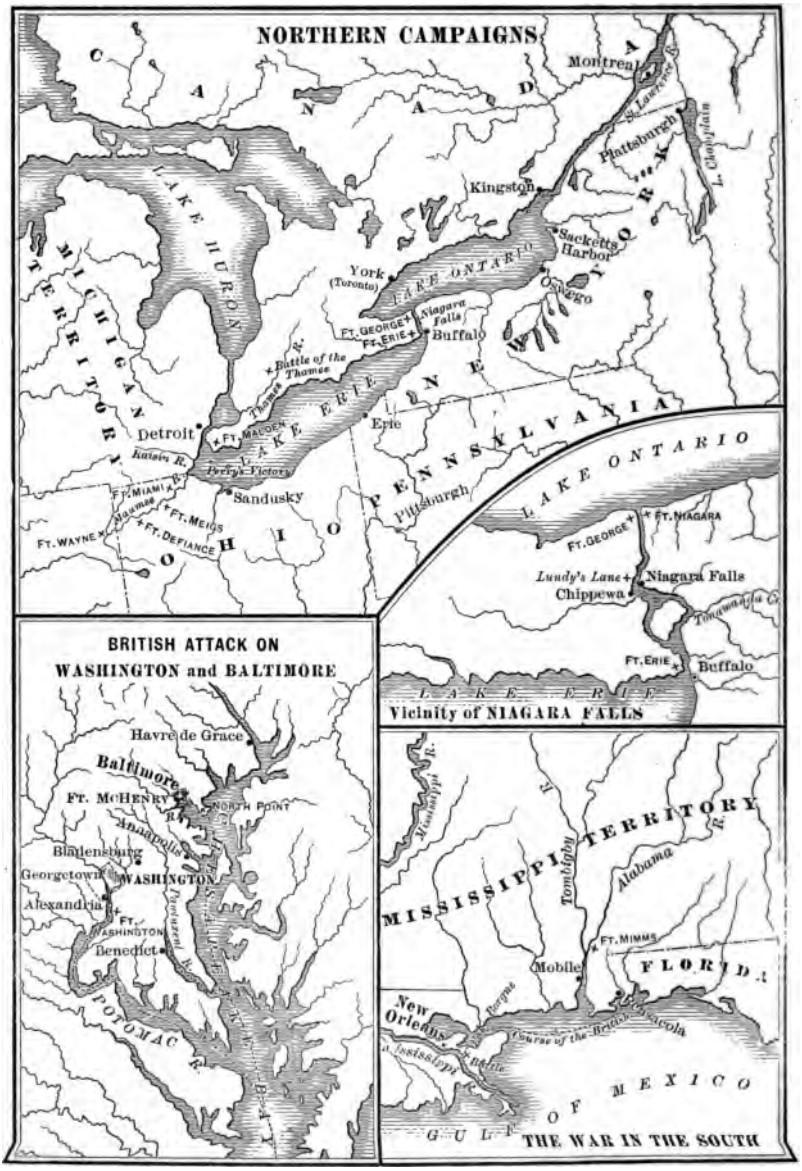
[1] Hull was tried by court-martial for this act, found guilty of cowardice, and was condemned to be shot. He was, however, pardoned by President Madison in consideration of his services during the Revolutionary War. Hull published a defence in 1824. Many believe that his sentence was too severe, while some think it was altogether unjust, holding he was made to *suffer for the shortcomings* of others.

ships. The capture of an English man-of-war was so unusual that the success of the Americans at sea almost made up for the disastrous failures on land. While in not a few instances the advantage of size was in favor of the Americans, their success was mainly due to their superior seamanship and discipline. The people of the United States were greatly elated over these victories, and several of the sayings of the naval captains, such as, "Don't give up the ship," and "We have met the enemy, and they are ours," became watchwords during the war. One of the most successful frigates was the *Constitution*, which received the name of "Old Ironsides." [1]

186. The Creek War; Jackson. (1813–1814.) — During the year 1813, incited by the influence of Tecumseh and British and Spanish emissaries, the Creek Indians in southwestern Georgia and in Alabama, led by a chief named Weathersford, a half-breed, had surprised and taken Fort Mims, near the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. The garrison and most of those who had taken refuge in the fort, including many women and children, in all over 400, were cruelly put to death. Expeditions were soon organized, and after two campaigns the Indians were conquered, the whites showing no quarter, and seemingly trying to surpass the red men in cruelty. Andrew Jackson was chief commander in these expeditions, and his success in this Creek war made him one of the most prominent generals in the country. A great number of the Creek Indians were killed, and, as usual, the survivors were forced to give up most of their lands and move farther west.

187. American Success; British Plans. (1814.) — Taught by their reverses, the Americans set about reorganizing their

[1] This vessel having been repaired so many times as to be really another ship, is still (1893) in the navy.



***Reference* Maps for the WAR OF 1812**

armies, and, under the instructions of Winfield Scott, a young officer, and others, the troops greatly improved in discipline and confidence. Several victories over the British in Canada were the results of this training. Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Fort Erie, all in the neighborhood of Niagara Falls, were the chief successes; but, as the United States troops had to retreat across the river Niagara, no real advantage was gained. Later the British invaded the United States by way of Lake Champlain, but were defeated at the naval battle of Plattsburg. Peace had now been made in Europe by the success of the allied forces against Napoleon, who was compelled to abdicate, and was banished to the island of Elba. This enabled England to send more men and more vessels to America. So many ships were sent that the whole coast from Maine to Florida was blockaded, and the United States vessels found it a hard matter to get in and out of ports. The plan of the English was to invade the country from three points: on the north, on the Atlantic coast, and on the south. The attack from the north had been so far a failure.

It was also, in connection with the attack upon the Atlantic seaboard, a part of the British plan to make descents at various places, in order to keep the Americans in a state of continual fear and uncertainty. All along the coast descents were made, the larger towns being avoided on account of their better defences. In this way Stonington, Connecticut, Lewes, Delaware, Havre de Grace, Maryland, and other places were plundered. Maine, as far as the Penobscot River, was seized and held by the British until the end of the war.

188. Capture of Washington. (**1814.**) — The chief attack was that made upon the city of Washington late in the summer of 1814. A *strong* fleet accompanied by an army of

about 4500 men, under General Ross, appeared in Chesapeake Bay in July. The forces were landed at Benedict, near the mouth of the Patuxent River, and marched towards the capital. No resistance was made until Bladensburg, a short distance from Washington, was reached. Here a force of about 6000 men, consisting of a few regular troops and marines, and militia was hastily drawn up to defend Washington. But the militia were without training, the authority was divided and in the hands of incompetent men, so the battle speedily ended in a rout. The British followed and entered Washington, burnt the Capitol and most of the government buildings. So hasty was the flight of the Americans, that Mrs. Madison, the wife of the President, gathered up some of the silver in her reticule as she fled from the White House. and the British "ate up the very dinner, and drank the wine, etc., . . . prepared for the President's party."

189. British repulsed at Baltimore. (1814.) — The loss from a money point of view was very great, but was nothing in comparison with the loss of public records, which could not be replaced. This action of the British has always been viewed as an act of barbarism, for which the burning of the Parliament House in York, Toronto, by General Dearborn (sect. 185) offered the only justification. But there was this difference, the one was done on the responsibility of the general, while the other was done under strict orders from the British government. After burning the city, the English forces retreated and shortly after attempted to take the city of Baltimore. But the attack was successfully repelled at North Point, a few miles below the city, and a bombardment of Fort McHenry by the fleet also proved a failure.[1]

[1] During this bombardment, Francis Scott Key, a Baltimorean, who had gone to the British fleet to negotiate for the release of prisoners and was detained by the British, wrote the song "The Star-spangled Banner."

190. The Hartford Convention. (1814.) — The war having been all along very unpopular in New England, the many failures, the destruction of trade, and the apparent hopelessness of the conflict, led a number of disaffected men to suggest a convention to discuss the state of the country, particularly of the eastern states. Delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and from parts of Vermont and New Hampshire, in all twenty-six, met at Hartford, Connecticut, in secret session for three weeks, and then, after preparing a paper for publication, adjourned subject to call. The members were all Federalists, and the secrecy of the proceedings and the intensity of the party feeling at the time, made the convention so unpopular that it was a final blow to the party. Many of their political enemies believed that the convention plotted secession, but the real intentions of the leaders in the movement have never been thoroughly explained and no complete report of its proceedings was ever published. Seven amendments to the Constitution, all prohibitory in their character, and resembling the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and also the South Carolina Nullification Act of 1832, were recommended. Before the committee which had been appointed to confer with the government reached Washington, peace had been declared, and the whole movement brought nothing but political ruin on all engaged in it.

191. Southern Campaign; New Orleans. (1814–1815.) — The third attack of the British was in the south. Spain was at peace with the United States, but friendly to England, and there had been several conflicts between the Spaniards and the American forces. The British had occupied Pensacola, but Jackson had driven them from it and handed it over to *the Spaniards. He hastened* to the defence of New Orleans,

for he was sure that it was the objective point of the British. Jackson's army was made up largely of frontiersmen, well trained in border conflicts, but knowing little of military tactics and discipline. The British were men who had been in Wellington's armies, and were under the command of skilful generals. In the preparation for defence Jackson showed the greatest energy and forethought; he threw up barricades of cotton bales, and called upon all citizens to aid, and among those who responded were many free negroes.

192. British repulsed at New Orleans. (1815.) — The British finally made an attack on the 8th of January, 1815, and, after a severe battle, were repulsed with great slaughter, the general in command being killed, and about 2500 men killed, wounded, or missing. On the American side Jackson officially reported a loss of seventy-one only. The British forces retreated, abandoning the expedition. The only result of this battle was the great loss of life, and the balm it afforded the wounded pride of the Americans at losing so many battles earlier in the war, for peace had been declared two weeks before the battle of New Orleans, though the news had not reached the United States.

193. Peace of Ghent. (1814.) — As early as 1813 Russia had tried to act as mediator between the United States and Great Britain, and the effort had been twice repeated without avail. But early in 1814 five commissioners were appointed to go to Europe for the purpose of treating with England. For some time the prospects for peace were gloomy; but the success of the allied armies against Napoleon, the capture of Paris, and the abdication of the French Emperor, while releasing many troops which could be sent *to America, at the* same time took away any pretext for the

impressment of sailors and for the obnoxious "Orders in Council." Late in the summer of 1814 the English and American commissioners met at Ghent, now in Belgium, and after long negotiations agreed upon a treaty of peace which was speedily approved by the British government and sent to America for ratification. In this treaty everything was restored as far as possible to the state which had existed before the war; not a word was said about the impressment of sailors nor the "Orders in Council," which were the occasion of the conflict, and the important questions relating to the navigation of the Mississippi and the Newfoundland fisheries were left to future consideration. Both parties, however, did agree to do their best to put an end to the slave trade.

If the English were ready for peace, the Americans were eager for it, and the news of the treaty was enthusiastically received; Congress quickly ratified the treaty, and so the war came to an end. With the exception of the naval glory, the Americans had gained little or nothing, and had lost millions of money in military expenses and in the utter prostration of commerce, and many thousands of lives had been sacrificed. There is little doubt that a better treaty could have been made with England before the war than the one which was made after it.

194. War with Algiers. (1815.) — The United States had not quite done with fighting, however; for the Dey of Algiers had taken advantage of the war with England to declare war and to capture some American vessels. In the summer of 1815 an expedition under Commodore Decatur was sent to Algiers, and after the capture of two Algerine ships the Dey signed a treaty of peace, in which he agreed to *release all captives, make* indemnities for past captures, and

to give up forever any claim on the United States for tribute or presents, and to promise not to reduce prisoners of war to slavery. Tunis and Tripoli were likewise visited by Decatur, and compelled to promise to observe their former treaties. No further trouble was experienced from the Barbary States.

195. Charter of a National Bank. (1816.) — The war was at an end, but the finances of the country were in a bad way. The national debt was about $127,000,000, $80,000,000 of which had been the cost of the war; trade was for the time almost ruined, no gold or silver money was to be seen, and every interest was depressed. In order to restore specie payments and improve the finances, a new National Bank was chartered by Congress in 1816 for twenty years. This bank was to have branches through the country, and the public funds were to be deposited in it and its branches. These deposits, however, could be withdrawn when the Secretary of the Treasury thought best, but he was to give Congress his reasons for such action. The capital of the bank was to be $35,000,000, and to this the United States was a large contributor, and was represented in the board of directors. The first United States bank, suggested by Hamilton,[1] had been closed on the expiration of its charter in 1811, and it is interesting to observe that Hamilton's political opponents felt themselves obliged in 1816 to follow his example when they found themselves in somewhat similar circumstances. Whatever may have been the opinion later as to its operations, there seems to be no doubt that the second Bank of the United

[1] Part of Hamilton's scheme for improving the financial condition of the country (sect. 157) was the establishment of a national bank. After much discussion, this recommendation was adopted and a bank chartered in 1791 *for twenty years.*

States did good service for some time after its establishment, though it was not as ably conducted as the former bank.

196. Election of Monroe. (1816.) — In the Presidential caucus, a meeting of the United States' senators and congressmen in 1815, Monroe was nominated as the successor of Madison, with Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, as Vice-President. James Monroe, born in Virginia, 1758, had served in the Revolution with credit, and had filled many offices both in state and national politics; he had been envoy to France, Spain, and England; he was active in the Louisiana Purchase; was Madison's Secretary of State, and in the darkest hour of the late war had assumed the charge of the War Department as well. He was probably the best man that could have been selected. At the election he received an overwhelming majority of the Electoral College; the Federalists nominated Rufus King, of New York, but did not go to the trouble of putting any one forward as candidate for Vice-President. From this time the Federalist party ceased to exist under that name, though many of the Democratic-Republicans were really Federalists in their views, and were only waiting a new issue to form a new party.

CHAPTER XI.

THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE.

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197. Increase of National Feeling. (1815.) — It is pleasant to leave accounts of war, and to turn the attention, at least in part, to interests which belong to peace, and which bind a people together most firmly, and best stimulate a healthy national growth, such as improved means of communication, mechanical inventions, philanthropic efforts, and education.

The beginning of Monroe's term of office marks an epoch in the history of the United States. Previously many had looked upon the Union as an experiment, but after 1815 the

national feeling greatly increased, and party questions related to public policy rather than to forms of government. In the thirty years of peace following the War of 1812, the great subjects which claimed the attention of the people were those of internal policy, such as the tariff, internal improvements, — national roads, canals, railroads, — public lands, education, and slavery. Party lines for a time seemed to disappear, and Monroe's Presidency has therefore been called the "era of good feeling."

198. Era of Good Feeling. (1815–1819.) — Monroe seemed to have taken Washington as his model and to have followed his example whenever possible. Like him, early in his term of office he made an extended tour through the states. Nominally for the purpose of inspecting the defences of the seaboard, the journey really was to heal as far as practicable party animosities. Travelling was slow in those days, and three months and a half were taken up in visiting the eastern and middle states. Monroe was received everywhere with enthusiasm, the old Federalists for the moment being almost as full of zeal as the President's own party, and Jefferson's words, "We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans," seemed for the time to be literally true. A second tour in 1819 was made to the southern states. A Presidential tour now is no uncommon thing, but in Monroe's day it meant a great deal, and the effect upon the people *was marked.*



JAMES MONROE.

199. Cession of Florida; General Jackson. (1819.) — Spain owned Florida, but it could hardly be said she governed it. There were but few settlements or forts, and the country was really held by various tribes of Indians, the chief of whom were known as the Seminoles. Runaway slaves from Georgia and Alabama found it a safe place of refuge, and adventurers saw in it an attractive field for their lawless operations. During the War of 1812 there was continual trouble, which lasted after peace had been made; Spain was either indifferent to complaints or helpless to keep order. In fact, there was regular border warfare. In 1817 General Andrew Jackson was sent to take command of the United States forces. In his instructions he was allowed to pursue a flying enemy across the boundary, but he was not to attempt to take any Spanish post without direct orders from Washington. In the conduct of the campaign, however, he acted without regard to instructions. He accused the Spanish commanders of aiding the Indians, — probably a true charge in some instances, — and took several of the towns and forts, among them Pensacola. He captured two British subjects, had them tried by court-martial, and promptly hanged them, though the evidence against them was of a doubtful character. Thus in a very short time he had violated the rules of international law, and brought the country to the verge of war with two nations. Pensacola was soon restored to Spain; but as it was evident that the Floridas would continue to be a troublesome possession, Spain became more willing to enter into negotiations for their cession to the United States, and in 1819 a treaty for the purchase was signed at Washington. This was not ratified by both countries until 1821. In consideration of the United States renouncing all claims upon Spain for *spoliations, and* agreeing to pay to American claimants

$5,000,000, Spain ceded all the Floridas to the United States. The western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was also fixed by this treaty.[1]

200. Agreement relative to the Great Lakes. (1817.) — In 1817 Great Britain and the United States mutually agreed to limit the naval force of each power on the Great Lakes to two vessels on the upper lakes, to one vessel on Lake Ontario, and one on Lake Champlain; each vessel was not to exceed one hundred tons' burden, and was to be armed with but a single small cannon. This was but a police force to preserve order and protect the collection of revenue. It was also agreed that no vessels should be built or armed on the Great Lakes for war purposes.

201. Protection to Home Industries. (1817.) — One effect of the War of 1812 had been to shut out English manufactures, and in consequence to stimulate the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods in the United States. As has been seen, the New England states turned their attention from the carrying trade to manufactures. Now that peace was made, the English merchants poured their goods into the United States, underselling American manufacturers, who were unable to compete in prices; indeed, it was alleged that the English merchants sent their goods over with the avowed purpose of breaking down any competition in America, and in order to do this were willing for a time to sell below cost. A proposed reduction of the tariff was postponed, and in

[1] Omitting particulars, the boundary may be described as following the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas rivers, to the forty-second parallel of latitude, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. In agreeing to these boundaries the United States lost Texas, a part of which she had previously claimed under the Louisiana treaty, but whose worth was unknown or undervalued at that *time.*

1817 the "American Society for the Encouragement of American Manufactures" was formed. Now more than ever was Protection made a definite policy; for though the theory had been distinctly recognized, revenue had been the object of every financial measure; after this time "protection" has often been made the primary object in legislation, and revenue the secondary[1] (sect. 156).

In 1816 a number of southern men, among them Calhoun, advocated at least a moderate protective policy; but before long they were led to believe that such a policy was against the interests of the South, particularly of the cotton-producing states, and in a few years most southern men became strong opponents of protection (sect. 218).

202. Internal Improvements. (1806–1819.) — In 1806 Congress had made an appropriation for the construction of a national road from Maryland to Ohio, the first instance of the kind under the Constitution. In 1805 Jefferson in his second inaugural recommended an amendment to the Constitution, giving the states the surplus revenue to expend on roads, canals, and education. Madison and Monroe both vetoed bills making appropriations for the construction of roads at the national expense, on the ground of unconstitutionality, but both had agreed in thinking that such works

[1] Protection, or a protective tariff, is a tax laid upon imported goods so high that it will encourage such goods to be manufactured at home. The advocates of protection claim that those engaged in manufacturing will buy of the farmers, thus giving them a home market for their products; and that there will be a greater diversity of interests in the country, making it to a great extent independent of foreign nations. The advocates of free trade claim that it is best for each country to produce that for which it is best fitted by nature; that manufactures will spring up as soon as the country is ready for them; that protection benefits a few at the expense of the many; *and that a policy of free trade* will tend to peace between nations.

should be undertaken by the government under proper restrictions, and had suggested amendments to the Constitution to give Congress the power. Many believed that the power to make internal improvements was implied in the Constitution; others, that the whole matter rested with the states, and that the national government had nothing to do with it; they also disapproved on principle the giving to Congress increased power. The subject of slavery began now to force itself before men's minds in a way that demanded attention. With the questions of the tariff, "internal improvements," and slavery before the country, it is clear that the "era of good feeling" was rapidly coming to an end, and that these questions would be sufficient to divide the Democratic-Republican party. A leader for a new party had already appeared in Henry Clay of Kentucky.

203. Erie Canal. (**1817–1825.**) — Meanwhile some of the states had gone on building roads and constructing canals independently of the national government. The most important of these works was the Erie Canal in the state of New York. The construction of this great work is mainly due to the indomitable perseverance of DeWitt Clinton. Begun on the 4th of July, 1817, "Clinton's Ditch," as it was called in derision by the opponents of the measure, was finished in 1825. Joining the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson River, and extending over three hundred and sixty miles through the very heart of the state, this canal became the means of carrying a vast amount of merchandise to and from the sea. It stimulated in a wonderful manner the growth of the whole state through which it passed, and enabled the city of New York to leave Philadelphia, heretofore the largest city in the Union, far behind in commercial *prosperity and in population.*

204. Missouri, Slave or Free? (1818–1820.) — In 1819 the number of states in the Union was twenty-two. All the states added so far to the original thirteen had been formed out of territory within the original limits as fixed by the treaty with Great Britain, except the state of Louisiana, admitted in 1812. Of the thirteen, seven were free and six were slave states, but by the admission of the nine new states the number of slave and free states had become equal, thus giving each section of the country an equal voice in the Senate. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the representation from the free states was larger, owing to the much more rapid growth in population.[1] Heretofore the Ohio River had been the dividing line between freedom and slavery; all new states admitted north of it were free, and all south of it were slave states. Late in 1818 the legislature of the territory of Missouri applied to Congress to be admitted into the Union. At once the question was forced upon the country to decide whether the vast domain lying west of the Mississippi should be slave or free. The latter would mean the overthrow of the slaveholders' influence in Congress; the former, the continuance and increase of slavery. Louisiana had been admitted as a slave state; it was south of the Ohio, and slavery was an established institution when the Louisiana Purchase was made. But the northern part of the proposed state was on a line with Indiana and Ohio, while the southern boundary, 36° 30′, was almost exactly that of Kentucky and Virginia. Geographically, therefore, the territory was debatable ground. A bitter controversy was imminent, and Jefferson, now in retirement, wrote, "From the battle of Bunker Hill to the treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question."

[1] See tables, Appendices v.–viii. (Admission of the States, and Population *of the Sections, 1790–1890*).

205. Missouri Compromise. (**1818–1820.**) — The South held that Congress had no right to interfere with slavery, as it was a question which concerned the individual states, and should be left to each to determine for itself. The North held that Congress had full power over territories, and could prescribe conditions requisite for the admission of new states which should be binding. The South recognizing that the loss of the equality of representation in the Senate meant loss of political supremacy, and probably a fatal blow to the extension, if not the existence, of slavery, resisted the admission of Missouri as a free state with stubborn tenacity. The abstract character of slavery itself entered also into the discussion, intensifying the feelings of the combatants.

The struggle raged for about two years, until 1820, when Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois introduced a bill into Congress proposing that Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, but that slavery should be forever prohibited in the territory of the United States lying north of the 36° 30′ north latitude. Mainly through the efforts of Henry Clay of Kentucky, then Speaker of the House of Representatives, this bill passed Congress and became a law. Such is the famous Missouri Compromise Bill, which for the first time fixed by law the division of the country into a free North and a slaveholding South. Almost simultaneously the South permitted the admission of Maine into the Union as a free state, having refused to admit it until the Missouri question was settled.

206. Monroe re-elected. (**1820.**) — Notwithstanding the bitter controversy just described, no candidates were nominated for the Presidency or Vice-Presidency, there being no opposition to the re-election of Monroe and Tompkins. Monroe received the vote of all the Presidential electors except *that of one in New Hampshire*, who gave his vote for John

Quincy Adams, on the ground, it is said, that no one but Washington should receive a unanimous vote. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins was elected.

207. Spanish-American Republics. (1810–1822.) — The success of the United States and its wonderful growth had not been unobserved by the other colonies in America, both north and south; and from 1810 the Spanish colonies one after another began to rebel, and then to throw off the yoke of the mother country. As early as 1816 Henry Clay had "put the question whether the United States would not have openly to take part with the patriots of South America"; in 1818 he had urged the recognition of the Spanish-American republics, and in 1822 arrangements were made for opening diplomatic relations with "independent nations on the American continent." It was evident that Spain was unable to reduce her refractory colonies to obedience, but there were indications that some of the European powers were inclined to give her assistance. After the final overthrow of Napoleon, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and afterwards England and France, had formed themselves into what they called the "Holy Alliance." Nominally for the purpose of "preserving peace, justice, and religion in the name of the gospel," its real design was to prevent the recurrence of anything like a revolution, and to put down anything like the appearance of rebellion. Thus a rising in Naples was put down by Austrian forces, and an attempt at a liberal government in Spain itself was crushed by France in 1823.[1]

208. Monroe Doctrine. (1823.) — It was now said that this Holy Alliance was about to aid Spain to recover her colonies, and that France was about to set up a kingdom in the new world. In a message to Congress in 1823 the President

[1] *England disavowed* these acts committed in Italy and Spain.

announced, (1) That the United States would remain neutral as regarded political affairs in Europe, but that any attempt by European governments to extend their system to any part of North or South America, or to oppress or control independent American states, would be regarded as "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." (2) "That the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." These statements are known as the "Monroe Doctrine." Little of this "Doctrine" was new; for Washington, Jefferson, and others had already stated the principles laid down in the first part. The authorship of the second part is attributed to John Quincy Adams. England, for reasons of her own, opposed the plan to reduce Spanish colonies to obedience, but she did not relish the second part of Monroe's statement, for it affected her claims on the west coast of America.

209. New National Issues. (1824.) — Monroe was the last of the Revolutionary statesmen, and before the close of his second term a new generation of men had come to the front, before whom new questions of public policy presented themselves, and new dangers rose up to be avoided. In the Congress to which was addressed the message containing the "Monroe Doctrine" two subjects, already referred to, began to be national issues: (1) Internal improvements at the national expense; and (2) a tariff for protection. Upon these two lines the old Democratic-Republican party divided. A bill creating a distinctively protective tariff was passed by a small majority. This is known as the tariff of 1824. A bill providing for surveys looking to a national system of *canals was also passed.*

210. John Quincy Adams chosen President by the House. (1825.) — The time now drew near for choosing a successor for Monroe, but the issues of the "tariff and internal improvements" had not been long enough before the country to be distinctly party issues, and the choice turned rather upon men than measures. So personal became the contest that this election was called "the scrub race for the Presidency." From 1804 to 1820 candidates for the office of President had been nominated by a caucus of the members of Congress; in the latter year, as there was no opposition to Monroe and Tompkins, no caucus was held. Early in 1824 an attempt was made to return to the old but unpopular plan; a few members of Congress met and nominated William H. Crawford of Georgia for President. Crawford was a man of much experience in political affairs, had held various offices, and was now Secretary of the Treasury; but his nomination was not acceptable to many, and the legislature of Tennessee presented Andrew Jackson as its candidate; Kentucky followed with Henry Clay; Massachusetts, with John Quincy Adams. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was supported for Vice-President by the majority of advocates of the various candidates for the Presidency. As might have been expected, no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, and the choice for President, in accordance with the Constitution, fell to the House of Representatives. Clay, standing fourth on the list in respect to the number of votes received, was ineligible (Constitution, Amend. Art. xii.). As was natural, the friends of Clay joined with those of the other "loose constructionists" and chose Adams, though Jackson had a larger electoral vote.[1]

[1] Jackson and Crawford were both strict constructionists of the Constitution, while Clay and Adams believed in a liberal or loose construction of *that instrument.*

Calhoun, having received a majority of the electoral votes, was declared Vice-President.

Immediately there was a cry of a "corrupt bargain," which was not lessened when Adams announced that he would appoint Clay Secretary of State. As a result the Jackson and Crawford factions joined in opposition to Adams and Clay, whose followers united, soon calling themselves National Republicans, and afterwards Whigs. In most particulars this new party differed little from the old Federalists. Their opponents, first called Jackson men, or Jacksonians, before long took the name of Democrats, a name still retained.

211. John Quincy Adams; his Character. (1825.)—No man ever came to the office of President better prepared by education for its duties than John Quincy Adams. He was born in 1767, his father, John Adams, was one of the most prominent men of the country, and his son had every advantage that social and political position could give him. He was educated at Harvard, accompanied his father abroad, and gained that familiarity with European languages and life which was of so much use to him afterwards. At the age of twenty-seven he was appointed minister to the Netherlands, and thenceforth to his death in 1848 was almost continuously in the service of his country. He was senator from 1803–1808, minister to Russia, 1809–1817, and Secretary of State under Monroe, 1817–1825. After his retirement from the Presidency, he was elected in 1831 to represent his district in the House of Representatives, and died at his post in the *Capitol at Washington*. Somewhat haughty in his manner,



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

impatient of other men's views, taking little pleasure in society, he was not popular; he had few personal friends, and no personal political following. He was an "accidental President," and not the choice of the people. He shone most when in the opposition in the House of Representatives, and his fame rests chiefly on his career after he was President.

212. Lafayette's Visit to America. (1824–1825.) — During the last year of Monroe's administration Lafayette visited the United States, which he had not seen for forty years. Declining the offer of a public vessel tendered by the United States government, he sailed in a private ship, and landed at New York late in the summer of 1824. At once he was treated as the guest of the nation, and during the whole of his stay every expense was provided for, and every wish so far as practicable was anticipated. The people looked upon him as the representative of the Revolution, and so, in rendering honor to the man, there was a gratification of national pride. It is hard to realize the enthusiasm of the time. Everywhere Lafayette went his course was a triumphal progress. Town and country contended which should do him greater honor, and arches and banners with "Welcome Lafayette" greeted him throughout the land.[1] The newspapers of the day are full of the accounts of the reception and of the dinner-parties given to him. One of these latter was at the White House, and was given by the President, John Quincy Adams. At this there were present ex-Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, all being old friends of the chief guest. When Lafayette left the country after a visit of a year, he took with him, besides the good

[1] Josiah Quincy, in his "Figures of the Past," tells of an enthusiastic lady, who may be taken as a fair representative of the popular feeling, who said, "If Lafayette had kissed me, depend upon it, I would never have *washed my face again* as long as I lived."

wishes of the American people, $200,000 in money, as compensation for his services to the country, and in lieu of land which had been granted him as an officer of the Revolution, but which he had lost through some technicality. More might have been his, had not his modesty made him decline



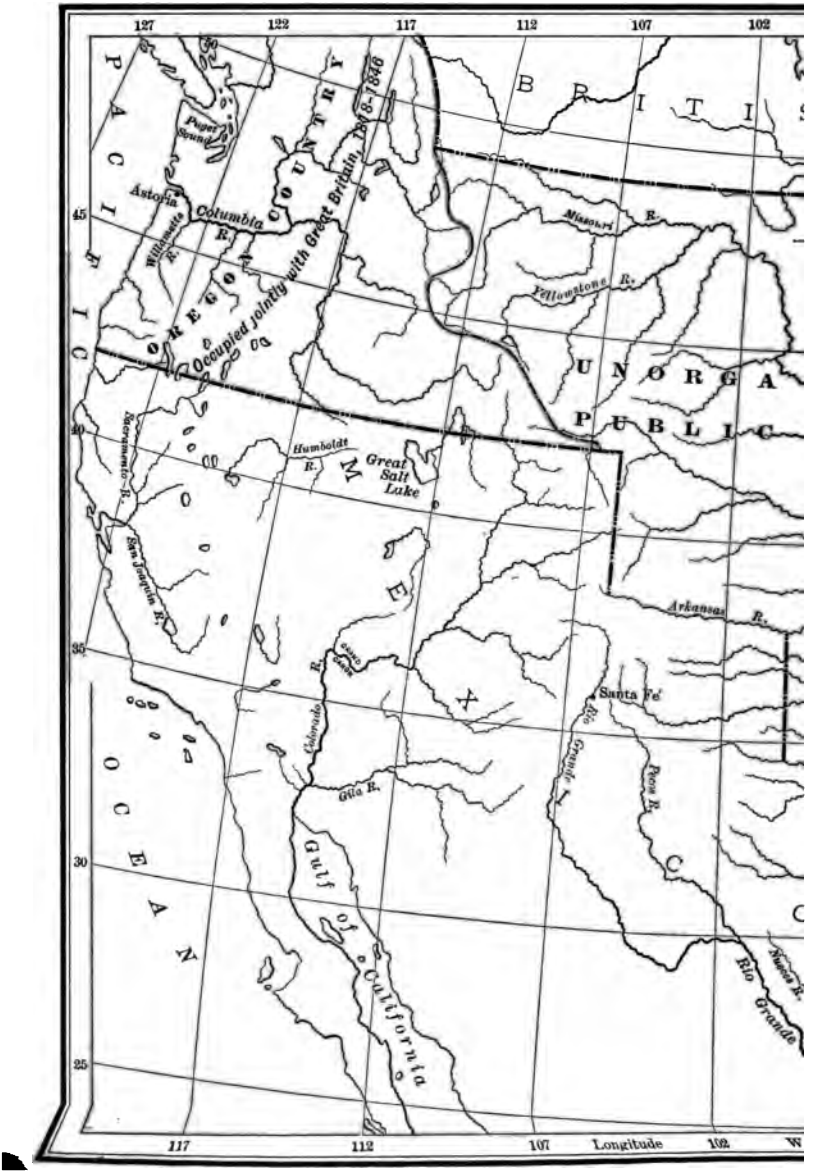
LAFAYETTE.

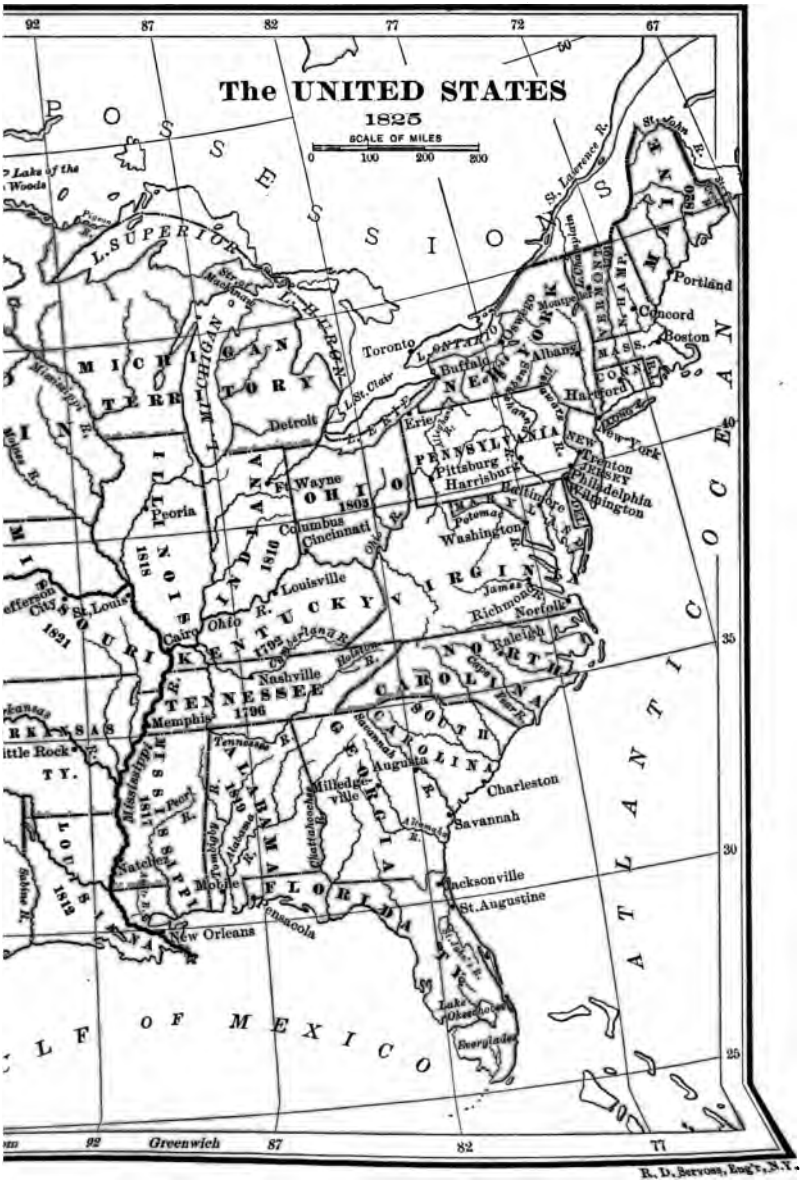
other gifts tendered him by states and by individuals. He sailed for France in a new ship of the navy, named in his honor *Brandywine*, from the battle in which he had taken so prominent a part.

213. Changes in the United States. (**1825.**) — Nearly fifty years had passed since Lafayette had first come to America, *and he must have been* surprised at the changes which met

his eye as he revisited the scenes of his early manhood. The population in 1777 was 3,000,000: it was now (1824) about 11,000,000: then there were thirteen small colonies; now there were twenty-four states: then the settlements occupied only the country lying along the coast; now there were states a thousand miles inland, and the country extended from the Atlantic Ocean to Texas and the Rocky Mountains, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico: then he was aiding a few rebel colonies resisting a strong mother country; now he was the guest of the United States, one of the greatest powers of the earth. The progress in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures had fully kept pace with the political and territorial growth. The United States was the great producer of cotton and grain for Europe; her flag was seen in every port; and already her citizens were celebrated for their inventive skill. Though the railroad had not been introduced, steamboats plied regularly where only the canoe of the Indian or of the hunter had been seen fifty years before. To one coming from discontented Europe the land seemed indeed a land of peace, prosperity, and freedom.

214. Adams Unpopular; Internal Improvements. (1825.) — John Quincy Adams, while one of the best Presidents the country has ever seen, was not a popular one. Many persons thought that the place rightly belonged to Jackson, who had the largest popular and electoral vote, and that Congress should have followed "the will of the people" and chosen him. Indeed, Adams was hardly in his seat before preparations were made for the next campaign by Jackson's supporters, not a few of whom were office-holders under Adams; but he refused to remove them in order to fill their places with his own adherents, for he would not in the slightest degree use *the public service* for his personal advantage.


127
122
117
112
107
102
45
40
35
30
25
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON COUNTRY
Occupied jointly with Great Britain, Till 8th 1846
Puget Sound
Astoria
Columbia R.
Williamette R.
BRITISH
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
UNORGANIZED PUBLIC
Sacramento R.
Humboldt R.
Great Salt Lake
San Joaquin R.
Arkansas R.
Santa Fé
Colorado
Gila R.
Grand R.
Pecos R.
Gulf of California
Rio Grande
Nueces R.
117
112
107
Longitude
102


The UNITED STATES
1825
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
POSSESSIONS
L. SUPERIOR
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
INDIANA
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
1821
ARKANSAS
TY.
LOUISIANA
1812
MISSISSIPPI
1817
ALABAMA
1819
TENNESSEE
1796
KENTUCKY
1792
OHIO
1803
1816
1818
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
PENSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
MASS.
CONN.
VERMONT
N. HAMP.
MAINE
1820
Portland
Concord
Boston
Hartford
New York
Trenton
Philadelphia
Wilmington
Baltimore
Washington
Albany
Buffalo
Erie
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Toronto
L. ONTARIO
L. ERIE
L. MICHIGAN
L. St. Clair
Detroit
Ft. Wayne
Peoria
Columbus
Cincinnati
Louisville
Cairo
St. Louis
Nashville
Memphis
Little Rock
Natchez
Mobile
New Orleans
Pensacola
Milledgeville
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Lake Okeechobee
Everglades
Raleigh
Norfolk
Richmond
Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
R. D. Benson, Engr., N.Y.

The question of appropriations by Congress for "internal improvement" (sect. 209) had been debated for a long time, but Adams had no doubt as to the constitutionality of the matter, and in his inaugural address boldly recommended appropriation for such objects. In his first message to Congress he went still further, recommending appropriations for national observatories, a university, and scientific enterprises of various kinds, as well as public roads, canals, and defences. The country was not ready for such an extension of implied constitutional powers; the North was divided upon the issue, while the South believed that the narrow or strict view of the Constitution was more favorable to its interests. A number of bills were passed by Congress in aid of internal improvements, but they fell far short of the President's recommendations, and it was many years before his views were accepted to any great extent.

215. Pan-American Congress proposed. (1825–1826.) — The South American republics, encouraged by Monroe's declaration, invited the United States to send delegates to a congress of American states to be held at Panama to form an alliance for self-defence, and to deliberate on other matters of common interest. After much opposition, two delegates, nominated by the President, were confirmed by the Senate; but owing to the death of one of them and the delay of the other, the congress was held without the presence of a single representative from the United States. The attendance at Panama was small, and the congress, without accomplishing anything, adjourned to meet in Mexico in 1827; but it never came together again, and the whole movement was a failure.

216. Difficulties with the Creeks. (1802–1825.) — A number of Indian *treaties* were made with various tribes about this

time. Jefferson had proposed that all the tribes east of the Mississippi should be gradually removed to lands within the Louisiana Purchase, but very little had been done towards bringing about this result until Monroe's term. Several treaties had been made on this basis. Considerable difficulty had arisen in regard to the Creeks and Cherokees in the state of Georgia. When Georgia ceded her claim on western territory to the United States government, the latter agreed to extinguish the claims the Indians might have to lands within the state. Though the agreement was made in 1802, it had not been carried out, and Georgia in 1819 demanded its fulfilment. At last, in 1825, some of the Creek chiefs, on their own authority, ceded the lands of their tribe to the United States, and agreed to move beyond the Mississippi. The Creeks refused to abide by the treaty, and put to death the chiefs who had made the agreement. The state of Georgia undertook to take possession of the lands; the President interfered, and for a time it seemed as though there would be a petty war. Finally a new treaty was negotiated with the Creeks, who gave up almost all their land and agreed to move beyond the Mississippi. The Cherokee question was still unsettled and came up later (sect. 228).

217. Anti-Masonic Party; Death of Adams and Jefferson. (1826.) — In 1826 William Morgan, a Freemason, undertook to publish a book revealing the Masonic secrets. After various adventures he suddenly disappeared, and no certain trace of him was ever discovered. Many believed him to have been murdered by the Masons, and the excitement against them was great, and led to the formation of an anti-Masonic party, which for a long time had considerable power, *especially in the states* of New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont,

Ohio, and Massachusetts. In 1832 it was strong enough to nominate a Presidential candidate, but soon after disappeared from the field of politics.

Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, though they had quarrelled when the former became President, had long since made up their quarrels and become warm friends, often writing to each other and discussing in an amicable way the events of the early years of the republic. On the 4th of July, 1826, they died, almost at the same hour, each thinking that the other was still alive. So remarkable a coincidence made a great impression upon the public, and gave occasion for the delivery of Daniel Webster's well-known oration.

218. Era of Ill-feeling; Protective Tariff of 1828. (1824–1829.) — If Monroe's administration had been the "era of good feeling," that of Adams was quite the reverse. At no time in the history of the country had political feeling run higher or abuse been more violent. The questions of the tariff and internal improvements were fairly before the country as party issues; but to these was added a personal element which intensified legitimate discussions to an extraordinary degree. It seemed as if nothing was too bad to be believed of an opponent, and stories proved to be false were repeated over and over again and believed, in spite of renewed denial and proof of their falsity.

The tariff of 1824 has already been mentioned (sect. 209). Meanwhile public opinion in the states north of the Potomac River had been steadily growing in favor of a protective tariff, and this was true not only of the manufacturers, but of the farmers as well. The eastern states, however, were divided in sentiment from the fear that the shipping interests might be unfavorably affected by a protective tariff. South of the *Potomac, particularly in* the cotton-growing states, public

opinion was strongly opposed to protection. After much discussion, a protective tariff act passed both houses of Congress by small majorities in 1828, and became a law. This act was especially obnoxious to the people of South Carolina and Georgia, and many public meetings were held in those states in which it was denounced in strong language as "a gross and palpable violation of the Constitution"; some speakers even threatening a dissolution of the Union unless there should be "an unconditional repeal of the protecting laws."

On the issues of a protective tariff and internal improvements at the national expense, these two being called the "American System," the old Democratic-Republican party divided; those supporting Clay and the "American System" called themselves National Republicans, while their opponents soon took the name of Democrats.

219. Election of Jackson. (1828.) — When the time for nominating candidates for the Presidency came round, Adams and Richard Rush were nominated by the National Republicans, and Jackson and Calhoun by the Democrats. In the election of 1828 Adams and Rush were overwhelmingly defeated, not receiving the vote of a single southern state. The reasons for Adams's defeat were not wholly the tariff nor internal improvements. A change had come over the country. Hitherto trained men had been candidates for the office of President; now a feeling had sprung up that there was a danger of an aristocracy, and that Jackson represented the people. Adams lost his re-election from causes very similar to those which had defeated his father in 1800. The fact that Jackson was a great military hero, and that there was a very general feeling that he should have been chosen by the House of Representatives in 1825, carried him *into office on a wave* of popular enthusiasm.

CHAPTER XII.

THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE (*continued*).

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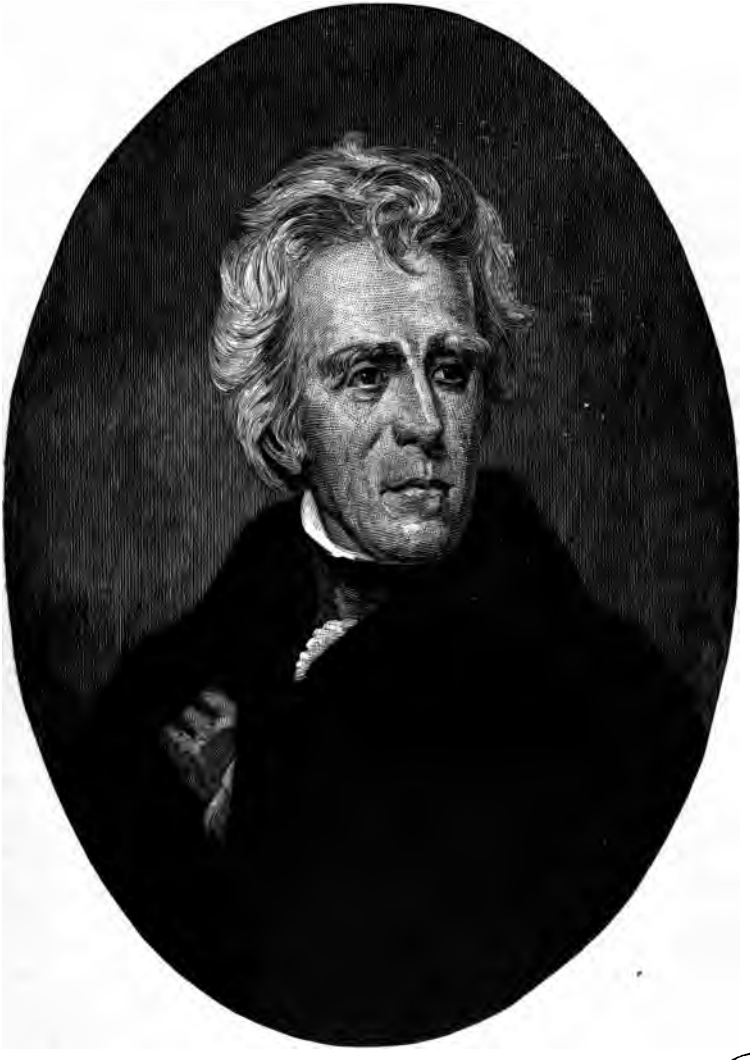
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220. Andrew Jackson. (**1829.**) — With the accession of Andrew Jackson to the office of President begins a new era in the history of the country.

Born in 1767, Jackson was sixty-two years old, but ill health and exposure caused him to look much older than that. He was a man of strong convictions, and, always sure he was right, could rarely be moved by argument. He never forgot a friend nor forgave an enemy, and regarded every one who differed from him, not only as his own enemy, but also as the enemy of his country. He was an honest man through and through, and undoubtedly thought he was putting an end to a vast amount of corruption when he took charge of the executive office.

221. Removals from Office. (**1829.**) — In his inaugural Jackson said, "The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform." He went on to renew the charges made during the campaign against the late administration, though Adams had been unusually successful in his appointments, and no one had suffered on account of his political opinions. Now that we are able to review calmly the history of those times of excitement, it is *acknowledged* by all that, in economy and purity, the admin-



ANDREW JACKSON.

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istration of John Quincy Adams has not been surpassed. Jackson, however, believed not only that there was corruption among the office-holders, but that it was his duty to reward with offices those who had been active in his behalf. New as this system was in national politics, it was well known in some of the states, notably in New York.

222. **"The Spoils System."** (1829–1831.) — Previous to Jackson there had been, in all, 74 removals from office by the Presidents, most of them for substantial reasons. Of these removals Washington had made 9; John Adams, 10; Jefferson, 39; Madison, 5; Monroe, 9; J. Q. Adams, 2. Jackson made a clean sweep of all the offices worth anything; it being estimated that during his first year of office, including the changes made by subordinates, about 2000 appointments were made. Since his time the rule has been, to use the phrase of Marcy, then Senator from New York, "to the victors belong the spoils." A bill was passed in 1820 limiting the terms for which many office-holders were appointed to four years. This measure, designed to correct abuses which had crept into the service, brought about the far worse evil of rotation in office. Offices with a few proper exceptions had previously been held during good behavior. Daniel Webster clearly pointed out at the time the evils likely to follow such a method as that adopted in 1820. The Civil Service Bill passed in 1883 is the beginning of a return to the old ways. It is not just to lay all the responsibility of the "spoils system" upon Jackson, but he was the first President who distinctly made public office a reward for party services.

223. **Jackson a Self-made Man; the "Kitchen Cabinet."** (1829.) — Jackson was the first President who was, in the fullest *sense of the term*, a self-made man. He was possessed

of an unflinching courage, an indomitable will, and wonderful perseverance. He had perfect confidence in his own powers and was regardless of consequences. His abilities were of no low order, and had he possessed opportunities for education and cultivation in his youth, his career would probably have been marked with fewer errors.

As it is, no figure in American history, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln, stands out with more marks of originality than that of Andrew Jackson. His personal manners, particularly towards women, were courteous and dignified, but his previous life had been spent mostly on the frontier, and he had been accustomed to a rough and ready way of deciding matters. In his boyhood during the Revolutionary War, he had been taken prisoner by the British and had been wounded by an officer whose boots, it is said, he had refused to blacken. Before he was thirty-two he had been country storekeeper, lawyer, district attorney, judge, congressman, and senator. Jefferson, who as Vice-President presided over the Senate, relates that in that body Jackson "could never speak on account of the rashness of his feelings. I have seen him attempt it repeatedly, and as often choke with rage."

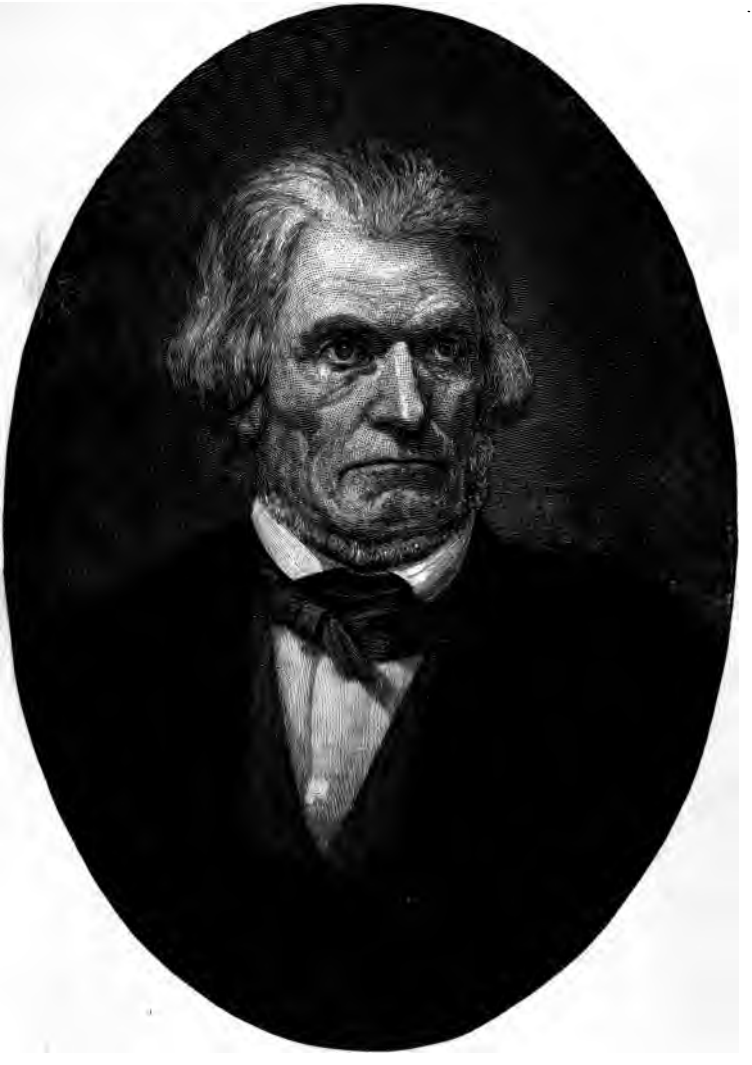
It is not surprising that with such a preparation there was a great difference between Jackson's administration and former ones. His first Cabinet, as might have been expected, was weak, Van Buren, Secretary of State, being the only really able man in it. Jackson did not, however, rely upon his Cabinet for advice, but rather on a few of his special favorites, some of whom held positions in the departments. It was not long before it was found that the way to the President's good will lay through these men, and in consequence of their subordinate positions and their influence, they were *called the "Kitchen* Cabinet."

224. The United States Bank. (1816–1832.) — The Bank of the United States had been up to 1829 a non-political institution, its directors giving their attention strictly to the legitimate business of such a corporation, but in the new state of things it was hardly possible to avoid some conflict with the President. It soon came, over an appointment in one of the branches of the Bank. Jackson, though at first he does not seem to have had any special feeling against the institution, became its most determined enemy. Chartered in 1816 for twenty years, in 1832 the directors resolved to ask Congress for a renewal of the charter, though it was four years before the old one expired. Congress after prolonged discussion granted the request, but Jackson vetoed the bill, and it failed to be passed over his veto.

225. Calhoun proposes Nullification. (1831–2.) — A tariff for protection had become year by year more and more objectionable to the people of the southern states, particularly those of South Carolina. Jackson did not like the tariff either, but as long as it was a law of the country he intended to enforce it. It must be remembered that there were a large number of persons at that time who honestly believed that the national government rested upon the consent of the states; in other words, that the Union was a confederacy of states, not a union of the people. The great leader of the southern party, Calhoun, does not seem to have wished the states to secede except as a last resort, and so he supported what is called "Nullification," which was very nearly what had been laid down in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798–1799. He claimed that the states had never given Congress the power to pass a law authorizing a protective tariff, and hence the states had a right to pronounce such a law null and void. In 1832 a new protective tariff was adopted.

226. Jackson re-elected; "Removal of Deposits." (1833.) — The Presidential election came on just after Jackson's veto of the bill for the renewal of the charter of the Bank. Both he and his opponents were willing to make that question the issue of the campaign. The National Republicans under the leadership of Clay and Webster supported the Bank as an institution necessary to carry on successfully the financial work of the government, and valuable as furnishing a uniform and safe paper currency. They also upheld the "American System," as they called a tariff for protection, as beneficial to the country at large. Jackson attacked the Bank as a monopoly using its influence in a way injurious to the country, as failing to do what was expected of it, and as being unconstitutional. Notwithstanding the popularity of Clay, and the strength of the position of the National Republicans on many points, the cry of "monied monopoly," and the confidence of the people in Jackson, carried the day, and Jackson was re-elected by a very large majority of the electoral vote. He naturally took this as an approval of his policy. He now directed that government money should not be deposited in the Bank or its branches. This action is generally spoken of as "the removal of deposits." The Secretary of the Treasury did not, however, agree with Jackson, and refused to obey his order; he was accordingly removed, as well as his successor, who also declined to obey his chief. On the removal of this second man, the Attorney-General, Roger B. Taney, was appointed to the vacant post, who immediately did as Jackson wished.

227. Nullification. (1832.) — Compromise Tariff. (1833.) — Meanwhile the agitation went on in South Carolina. A convention was held which declared that the tariff law was *null and void,* and that should the national government



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attempt to collect the duties by force, it ought to be resisted. The legislature confirmed the action of the convention, claiming the right to secede from the Union, and prepared for an armed resistance. On the receipt of this news Jackson issued his Nullification Proclamation, approved by almost every one at the North, and sent a naval force to collect duties in the harbor of Charleston. He also warned the South Carolinians that the laws of the United States would be enforced at any risk. Every one knew Jackson meant what he said, and South Carolina delayed action. The matter now came up on the floor of Congress. The President was authorized to use force if necessary, and through the influence of Henry Clay, a compromise tariff bill was passed under which duties were to be reduced gradually until 1842, when a uniform rate would be reached which would practically amount to a tariff for revenue only. Both parties claimed a victory — the North because the President had been authorized to use force, and complete free trade had not been secured; South Carolina, because she had not given up the principle of state rights, or state sovereignty, as it is more accurately termed.

228. Cherokees in Georgia. (**1830–1838.**) — Meanwhile the difficulties with the Indians had been partly settled by the removal of the Creeks beyond the Mississippi (sect. 216). The Cherokees had, however, still remained in Georgia, and the Seminoles in Florida. Both were unwilling to change their abodes. Jackson was an old Indian fighter, and had no sympathy whatever with the Indians, and when the state of Georgia tried to get possession of the lands of the Cherokees, he made no objection, neither attempting to carry out the treaties of the United States with the tribe, nor enforcing a decree of the Supreme Court which was in favor of the Cher-

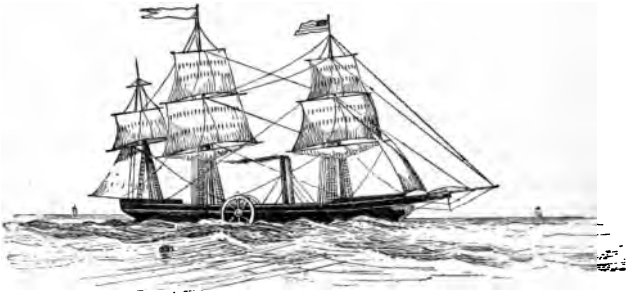
okees. On this occasion he is reported to have said, "John Marshall [the Chief Justice] has made his decision; now let him enforce it." The discovery of gold within the Indian reservation hastened the action of the state authorities, who proceeded to divide the land of the Indians and dispose of it by lottery. Finally the United States commissioners forced a treaty from the Indians, in accordance with which the tribes received a large sum of money for their lands, and in 1838 they were driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and were moved under the supervision of military forces to the place they now occupy in the Indian Territory. During the journey, which took about five months, nearly four thousand, about one-fourth of the whole number, perished by the way. This is only another example of the inconsistent and even cruel legislation which the United States has so often practised towards the Indians. The Cherokees were civilized, many somewhat educated, and by their treaty with the government they had the right to rule themselves. On the other hand, as Jackson pointed out, it was an anomaly for an independent government to exist within a state. The fault seems originally to have been on the part of the United States in making such a treaty, but as usual, the Indians were the sufferers.

229. "Black Hawk War"; the Seminoles; Osceola. (1832–1842.) — In developing the lead mines of Illinois and Wisconsin the lands of the Winnebagoes and of the Sacs and Foxes were overrun. This led to what is known as the Black Hawk War (1832), from the name of the noted Indian chief who was a leader in it. After a border warfare, in which the young Abraham Lincoln participated, the Indians were overcome and made a treaty by which they gave up about *ten million acres* of land in return for yearly supplies and an

annuity in money. The Seminoles, who lived in Georgia and in Florida, had refused to be removed west in accordance with the arrangements made by the United States. Florida was also a great refuge for runaway slaves whose capture there became almost hopeless. The Seminoles refused to give up these refugees and frequently intermarried with them. The principal Seminole chief, Osceola, a half-breed, had married a woman who was herself also a half-breed, and while on a visit to a fort with her husband, although she had been born in Florida, she was claimed as a slave by a Georgian, the old owner of her mother, and she was seized and carried away into slavery. It is almost needless to add that Osceola vowed revenge. An Indian war was the result. Osceola was captured by treachery, and then placed in confinement, first at St. Augustine, Florida, and then at Charleston, South Carolina, where he died. The war dragged on for seven years (1835–1842), and was marked with many incidents of greater cruelty and horror than is usual in even Indian warfare. After costing the United States about thirty millions of dollars, besides a great loss of life on both sides, the Seminoles were subdued by General Zachary Taylor. Still later most of the Seminoles who were left were removed to the Indian Territory.

230. Material Development. (1837.) — "The reign of Andrew Jackson," as it has been sometimes called, not only marks an epoch in the political history of the country, but also in material, in intellectual, and in social matters as well. From this time may be dated the practical employment of many things which have had a vital influence upon the development of the country. The successful application of steam to the loom had greatly stimulated manufactures; the invention of Fulton had been greatly improved, until now the

rivers were crowded with steamboats laden with grain, cotton, and other products; the *Savannah*, crossing the ocean in 1819, had shown the feasibility of ocean steam navigation, but the means of land transportation had been little, if any, improved since colonial days. Cities and towns upon navigable streams and bays received their supplies largely by water, and imported and manufactured goods were distributed in the same way. In Pennsylvania and western Maryland, where the roads were comparatively good, there was an extensive



THE "SAVANNAH."

wagon trade carried on with the interior by means of "Conestoga" wagons, as they were called. These were large vehicles with covers of canvas, or of strong white cotton cloth, and were drawn by four, six, or even eight horses. In these wagons farm products of all kinds were brought to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and goods needed by the country people were carried back. It was to a great extent this trade that enabled Philadelphia to keep ahead of New York until after 1810, and which made Baltimore one of the great flour markets of the world. A few inns with their long stable yards, where these wagoners used to put up, are still to be *seen in* Philadelphia and Baltimore. In general, however,

except where there was river or canal communication, or where the "National Road" offered its smooth path, there was comparatively little intercourse between different parts of the country. To go to Boston from Washington in ten days was thought fast travelling. It can easily be seen that there was small inducement to seek new homes in the West, in spite of the stories of the great fertility of the land; for not only was



"CONESTOGA" WAGON, AND STAGE-COACH.

it difficult to reach that country, but once there, it was impracticable to send the products of the farm to the market.

231. Effect of Steam and Electricity. (1837.) — The great ignorance which prevailed in regard to the West and its resources was chiefly owing to this difficulty of intercourse. The vastness of the country was believed to be a great evil by many sober-minded men, who thought it was a question worthy of consideration where a dividing line between the

United States and a new western nation should be placed. A republican form of government was thought by these persons to be impracticable for a large country. That such has not proved true is owing, not only to the ability of the Anglo-Saxon race, and to its genius for self-government, — though these have been of importance, — but it has been also largely due to the successful application of steam and electricity, whereby time and space have, for many purposes, been almost annihilated. In this way New York and San Francisco are nearer now than New York and Boston were in 1820. Of course these things did not come all at once, but compared with the years immediately preceding, the progress was rapid.

232. Railroads. (**1837.**) — The railway at Quincy, Massachusetts, seems to have been the first in the United States. It was about two miles long, and consisted of iron strips nailed on two parallel wooden timbers. It was used to carry stone for building Bunker Hill Monument; this was in 1826. In 1827 a railway was built at Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania; the cars here were drawn up by horses, and descended by gravity on their return. In 1828 the first passenger railway, the Baltimore and Ohio, was begun, but horse power was employed at first. In the same year a locomotive built by George Stephenson, the great English engineer, was imported from England, and used by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, on a road in connection with their mines. It was not for several years that a successful locomotive was constructed in the United States. The American designers in making locomotives very soon adapted them to the peculiar requirements of existing conditions of country and roadbeds. The American people were not slow to see the possibilities of railways, and the increase in the number of railroads was rapid. There were two or three miles of track in 1826; in

1837 there were 1500 miles in actual working operation, and many more miles were under construction. From that time to the present there has been no cessation of building, until in many parts the country is covered with a network of roads, and long lines stretch over the land in all directions, joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, and offering opportunities for frequent and close intercourse. The railway not only made communication easy in the old states, but it also made the rapid and profitable settlement of the great west possible. By it the country was opened to the settler; it carried him to the edge of civilization, and then took back his crops cheaply, securely, and rapidly to a good market. Wherever the railroad went, there villages and towns and cities sprung up like magic, and where water communication has been present in addition to other natural advantages of position, as is the case with Chicago, the growth has been unparalleled.[1]

233. Reapers; Coal. (1837.) — But it was not only railroads and steamboats that aided in developing the country. The broad fields of the western farmer suggested better means for cultivating and gathering in the crops. In 1833 Obed Hussey of Cincinnati patented a reaping-machine, which did fairly good work, and in 1834 Cyrus McCormick of Chicago patented another reaper, which closely resembled those now in use. Improved plows, harrows, drills, and other implements followed as occasion called for them.

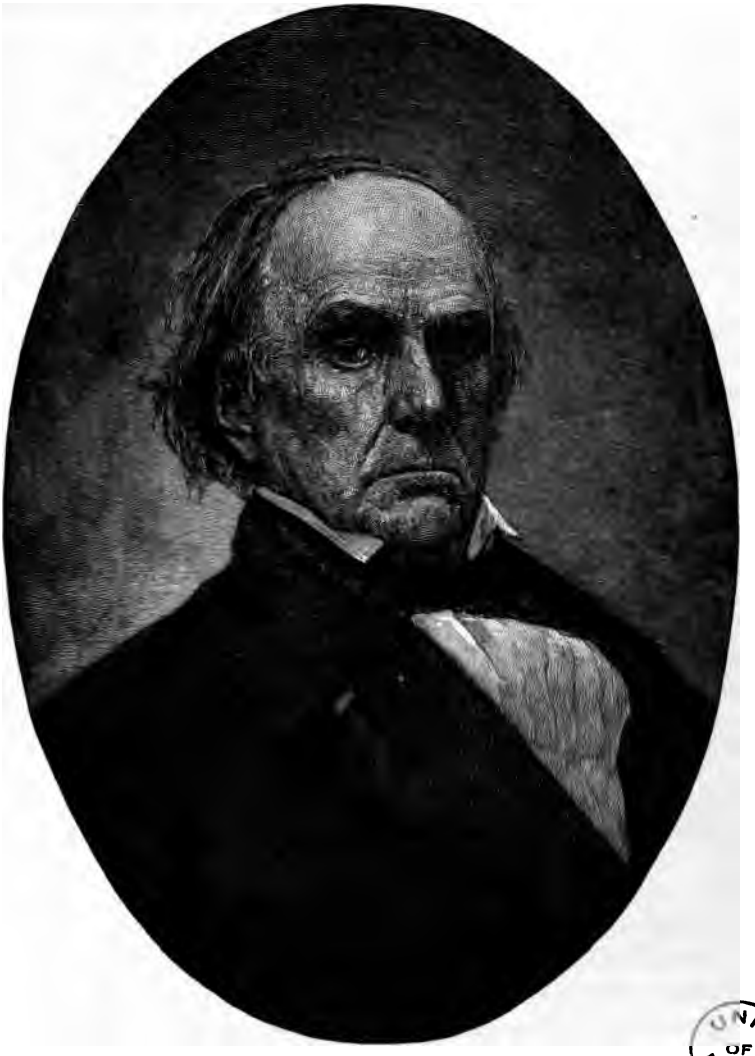
Anthracite or hard coal had been known since 1768, but it was little used until 1820, when a satisfactory method of burning it became generally known. An abundance of cheap fuel in close proximity to the coal mines, vastly increased

[1] Chicago in 1833 consisted of a single fort; in 1890 it had over a million inhabitants.

of English works or importations. But a few native writers, as William Cullen Bryant, Charles Brockden Brown, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Fitz-Greene Halleck, and also the establishment of the *North American Review* in 1815, gave a promise for the future which soon began to be fulfilled, for Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Prescott, and George Bancroft all began to publish before the end of Jackson's second term.

In oratory Daniel Webster has never been surpassed in this country, and his speech in the United States Senate in 1830, in answer to Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, is considered a masterpiece of oratory. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was another great orator; his power lay chiefly in the skill with which he could arrange his arguments; and few men were more dreaded as an opponent. Henry Clay, the other great orator of those days, had a wonderful personal influence and a persuasive voice, which, while he was speaking, seemed to carry all before him.

238. Temperance Reform. (1826–1837.) — Among other reforms that were taken up earnestly was that of temperance. In 1826 the American Temperance Society was organized at Boston. This society was the first to proclaim the doctrine of total abstinence, for hitherto moderation in drinking had been the point urged by speakers on temperance. The new society was active in spreading its doctrines by means of public lecturers and in other ways, so that numerous similar organizations were soon formed. The Washingtonian movement was started at Baltimore in 1840; it was primarily an effort to aid in the reformation of drunkards, and from the members of the society a pledge of total abstinence was required. John B. Gough, the great temperance orator, began *to lecture under the* auspices of these societies.



DANIEL WEBSTER.

UNIV. OF MICH.

239. Rise of the Abolitionists. — The very important Anti-slavery movement began about this time. This might perhaps be more properly called the rise of the Abolitionists. It has been seen already that the early statesmen of America, almost without exception, disapproved of slavery and looked forward to its abolition in the not far-distant future. It has also been seen (sect. 159) that the invention and employment of Eli Whitney's cotton-gin had changed the feeling towards slavery in the southern states. The object of those in the free states who had taken any interest in the matter had been to confine slavery within the limits it already occupied and to prevent its extension; even the antislavery men had done little more than support a scheme of gradual emancipation, or of colonization in Africa. But in 1831 William Lloyd Garrison began in Boston the publication of a paper called *The Liberator*, in which he advocated an immediate and unconditional emancipation. He was an agitator rather than a real reformer, and cannot be ranked as a statesman, as is shown by his denunciation of the Constitution, calling it a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He was soon joined by others, who formed with him the New England, and still later, the American, Antislavery Society. Other societies soon followed, and the work of pushing their opinions was begun. This was done by means of lectures and speeches, and by the circulation of a mass of literature through the mails. The Abolitionists insisted upon being heard, and the effect produced was altogether out of proportion to their numbers.

240. "Nat Turner Insurrection"; "Incendiary Publications." (1831–1836.) — It was a time of unrest and uneasy feeling; many things were taking place which caused much misgiving. In 1831 an insurrection of the slaves in Vir-

ginia, led by a negro called Nat Turner, though it was soon put down, alarmed the South greatly, and called the attention of the whole country to the slavery question. The South insisted that abolition documents should be kept out of the mails, and Jackson himself, in 1835, recommended in his message to Congress, that the circulation through the mails of "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection" should be prohibited under severe penalties. Many postmasters, however, on their own responsibility, threw out such matter as they deemed incendiary, and their action was unnoticed by the Post Office Department.

In addition to spreading abroad their publications, the Abolitionists began to petition Congress on the subject of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. After a hot discussion, the House of Representatives resolved to receive no communications whatsoever in respect to slavery, regardless of the fact that such action attacked the right of all petition whatever. For the support of this constitutional right, an able champion in the House of Representatives was found in John Quincy Adams, who, in spite of ridicule, scorn, and vituperation, insisted on presenting petitions until the "gag resolutions," as they were called, were repealed; but this was not until 1844. Amidst much that was objectionable, it is now clear that the Abolitionists were right on the main question; and while for the moment they probably injured rather than benefited the slaves, they succeeded in bringing the subject before the free states, whose people began to realize, as they never had done before, the inconsistency of slavery with the principles of the American system of government, and with the economic conditions which prevailed in the country. On the other hand, the move*ment naturally* tended to unite the South. Few, however,

saw as clearly as did John Quincy Adams, who wrote at this time: "Slavery is in all probability the wedge which will ultimately split up this Union."

241. Foreign Affairs; Surplus Revenue. (1829–1837.) — Jackson's administration of the foreign affairs of the United States was very successful. He forced France by his firm attitude to settle spoliation claims of long standing, which made other nations follow her example. It is an interesting circumstance that Great Britain played the part of mediator in the troubles with France.

John Marshall, who had been Chief Justice of the United States since 1801 (sect. 168), died in 1835,[1] and Jackson nominated as his successor Roger B. Taney of Maryland, who had been in his administration first Attorney-General and then Secretary of the Treasury (sect. 226). The Supreme Court about this time became Democratic in its political views, and remained so for nearly thirty years.

In 1835 not only had all the debts due by the United States been paid, but there was a large surplus on hand and accumulating, owing to the tariff and to the large receipts from the sale of public lands. The United States presented the almost unique spectacle of a country out of debt, and also having so much money as not to know what to do with it. A bill was passed in 1836 for distributing the surplus revenue among the states, according to population, and under this law $28,000,000 were divided.

242. Van Buren elected; his Policy. (1837.) — In accordance with Jackson's wish, Van Buren was nominated for President, while Richard M. Johnson was chosen as candidate

[1] The Liberty Bell (sect. 111) is said to have been cracked July 8, 1835, *while it was being tolled for* Marshall's death.

for Vice-President. The Whigs, as the Anti-Jackson men now called themselves, made no regular nominations, but divided their vote among William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster, Hugh L. White of Tennessee, and others. Van Buren was easily elected, but no one candidate receiving a majority for Vice-President, Johnson was chosen by the Senate in accordance with the constitutional provision. Thus "having beaten all his enemies, and rewarded all his friends, Jackson retired from public life to his home in Tennessee."

Martin Van Buren, a descendant of one of the old Dutch families, was born in New York, 1782. His experience in political matters was wide; for besides holding a number of offices in his native state, he had been minister to England, senator, and Vice-President. He announced his policy to be the same as that of Jackson, saying his aim would be "to tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." Unfortunately this was impossible, and the errors of Jackson's administration recoiled upon him.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

243. "Pet Banks"; "Panic of 1837." — When Jackson had ordered the cessation of the deposits in the United States Bank, certain banks in the different states were chosen as places of deposit; good care was taken that those banks should be chosen whose directors were in harmony with the President. Hence they were called "pet banks." As a result of this system of deposit, a large amount of money was thrown upon the open market here and there, and as has always been the case under such circumstances, speculation began, first in

land, then in almost everything. Soon there was not money enough to meet the demand, and in order to supply it, the banks began to issue bills with but little gold or silver to redeem their notes should they be presented for redemption. New banks were formed on little or no capital, and bills were issued with little or no specie back of them. Still persons took the bills of these "wildcat banks" as long as they could get others to take them. All this had happened late in Jackson's second term. When it appeared that the government was losing money by accepting in payment for public lands, bank bills which often turned out to be worthless, Jackson issued through the Secretary of the Treasury the "Specie Circular," which directed the government agents to receive nothing but gold in payment for land sold. As a large part of speculation was in public land, the effect of this order was quickly felt. Purchase of land was greatly curtailed, and there being no use for the "wildcat" bank-bills, they came back to the banks for redemption; but there was no gold nor silver with which to redeem them, and the banks failed: owners of land hastened to offer it for sale, but nobody wished to buy; prices went down rapidly, and soon a panic existed in all branches of trade. This "panic of 1837" was one of the worst commercial crises the country has ever known; it lasted for over a year, and affected all classes of the community. Even the national government did not escape; so much did the receipts fall off that not only did the Secretary of the Treasury have to suspend the payment of the surplus ordered to be divided among the states, but the fourth instalment was never paid at all, and Van Buren had to call a special session of Congress to devise means for raising funds to carry on the government. This was done by authorizing the Treasury Department to issue notes to the extent of $10,000,000.

244. State Enterprises; Repudiation. (1837.) — The spirit of expansion was not confined to individuals; states undertook the construction of canals, railroads, and other public works. To pay for these they issued bonds, but in consequence of the panic they could not raise money to pay their obligations. In some instances the money had been squandered, in some the agents of the states had proved unfaithful, in others the works had been projected upon a scale that was unprofitable. Taking advantage of the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, which forbids a state to be sued by individuals, some of the states refused to pay their debts altogether, which action is called "repudiation." When better times came, some of the states which had failed to pay the interest on the debts, as Pennsylvania, paid up their back debts. Others have never done so. As a considerable portion of these state debts were held in Europe, it gave American credit a severe blow, and for some time it was almost impossible to place any loans whatever abroad; even in 1842 the United States government found itself unable to place a loan in Europe, so low had American credit fallen.

245. Sub-Treasury established. (1840.) — To remedy the difficulties that had occurred through Jackson's system of "pet" banks, Van Buren proposed the Sub-Treasury system, which would allow the government to do its own banking and sever all "connection between the government and the banks of issue." In accordance with this plan all money received by the government agents was to be paid over to officers called Sub-Treasurers, who were to be required to give heavy bonds for their good behavior and honesty. These officers were to pay out the moneys on requisition from the Treasury Department. As was natural, the Whigs, one of whose cardinal *doctrines was* the re-establishment of a United States

Bank, opposed this plan, and ably led by Clay and Webster, succeeded in postponing its adoption until 1840. Repealed in 1841, it was again adopted in 1846, and is still in force. Fairly well as this plan has worked in many respects, there are serious objections to it, the chief being that often there is a large amount of money locked up in the government vaults which it is impossible to get into circulation except by periodical payments of interest, through the payment of salaries, or the rather questionable purchase of its own bonds by the government. In times of financial pressure the withdrawal of so much money from the market is often found to be a great evil. The system is also called "the Independent Treasury."

246. Canadian Uprising. (1837–1838.) — In 1837–1838 there was an uprising in Canada against the British government. Many in the United States, particularly along its border, sympathized with the Canadians, and meetings were held, and money and arms contributed in aid of the cause. The President, however, issued a proclamation warning American citizens not to interfere in Canadian affairs, and also sent General Scott to the border to watch the course of events. This action proved enough to stop what threatened to be a serious trouble with Great Britain.

247. Riots; Abolition Movement. (1834–1840.) — Meanwhile the Abolition movement had grown, but on various grounds there was much opposition to it in the North, manifested as early as 1834 by a riot in New York, and in the same year by one in Philadelphia. In 1835 a meeting of the Women's Antislavery Society at Boston was broken up by a mob, and Garrison, who was present, was dragged through the streets with a rope around his body, but was rescued and put in jail for protection. In 1837 Elijah P. Lovejoy, the publisher of

an antislavery paper, was fatally shot in front of his office in Alton, Illinois, after the roof of the building had been set on fire by a mob. In Philadelphia, in 1838, the office of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* was destroyed by a mob, and Pennsylvania Hall, in which the office was situated, was burnt. The poet Whittier, who was editor of the paper, lost all his books and papers, and narrowly escaped being mobbed. In the South the action of the Abolitionists naturally created much excitement; Georgia in 1831 offered a reward of $5000 for the apprehension of Garrison; in Louisiana at one time, a vigilance committee offered $50,000 for the delivery of Arthur Tappan, a prominent member of the party; while Mississippi offered $5000 for the arrest of any one circulating the *Liberator* or like papers. In 1839 the Abolitionists split, many of them being unwilling to follow Garrison in his extreme views. In 1840 the "Liberty Party" was formed.

248. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." (1840.) — As is not unusual, the national administration had to suffer for what it was not blameworthy. The panic of 1837 was a severe blow to Van Buren and his party. A slight return of the panic in 1839 completed the work; and though his party stood manfully by him and re-nominated him for the Presidency, he was defeated by the Whigs, who had nominated as their candidates William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, a battle in the Indian war in 1811 (sect. 182), and John Tyler of Virginia. This political campaign was the first of the style, since so familiar, having processions, songs, torchlights, mass meetings, etc. In ridicule of Harrison some one said, "Give him a log cabin and a barrel of hard cider, and he will be satisfied." This was in allusion to Harrison's frontier life. So far from accomplishing its purpose, the cry was immediately taken up as a watchword, and miniature

log cabins and barrels of hard cider were seen everywhere. So, like Jackson, on a wave of enthusiasm, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were triumphantly elected. The Liberty Party had put up candidates, but they received an insignificant vote.

249. Harrison dies; Tyler's Course. (1841.) — Harrison, born in 1773, was already an old man; much of his life had been passed on the frontier, where he had seen hard service, though he was not unfamiliar with political life, having been a member of the House of Representatives, governor of Indiana Territory, a senator, minister to Colombia, South America, etc. How he would have filled the office of President cannot be known; for worn out by the many demands upon his strength, chiefly the result of the throng of office-seekers, he sank under an attack of illness and died exactly one month after his inauguration. In accordance with the Constitution the Vice-President assumed the duties of President. John Tyler of Virginia, the first Vice-President who had succeeded to the Presidency, had been nominated by the Whigs with Harrison, to gain southern votes. He was Democratic in his opinions, but opposed Jackson's views on nullification.[1] Bitterly did the Whigs repent the policy which gave them their "accidental President." Harrison had called an extra session of Congress to consider what should be done to improve the financial state of the country. At this session, the Whigs soon passed a bill for the establishment of a new Bank of the United States; to their dismay Tyler vetoed it,



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

[1] Tyler died in 1862, a member of the Confederate Congress.

and their majority was not large enough to override the veto. After consultation with the President, they passed another bill framed to meet his objections, but this bill he vetoed also. Upon this, all the Cabinet resigned, except Webster, who was carrying on negotiations with Great Britain, and there was open war between Tyler and the party who had elected him.



JOHN TYLER.

250. Treaty with Great Britain; Extradition. (**1842.**) — There were several difficulties with the British government which had long been unsettled, and to these Webster, whom Harrison had appointed Secretary of State, turned his attention immediately after his entrance upon office. They were the northwest boundary between the United States and the British possessions, which had never been clearly defined; the right which England still claimed to search vessels in order to impress sailors, and the right of search for the suppression of the slave trade; and added to these old questions were new ones raised by the recent Canadian rebellion in 1837. Lord Ashburton, a member of the well-known Baring family, was sent to represent the English government, and the treaty agreed upon is known from him as the Ashburton Treaty. By the terms of the treaty a new boundary line between Maine and New Hampshire on the one side and Canada on the other was agreed upon, and the claims of Massachusetts and Maine were settled by a money payment to them by the United States. As the New Englanders thought Great Britain was favored, and Great Britain that New England had the advantage, the settlement was probably fair to both nations. Besides the

boundary question, the Canadian difficulties were arranged, and also provision made for the return, by either country, of criminals fleeing from justice. This clause only covered a few of the grosser crimes, but it was a good beginning; for the principle had only partly been recognized before, and this action led the way in affirming that the prosecution and punishment of criminals is a matter of international welfare. The right of search was passed over, but a declaration by Webster that sailors in American ships would "find their protection in the flag which is over them," was taken to mean that the United States would fight if an attempt was made to renew the practice in vogue before the War of 1812. In regard to the right of search for the suppression of the slave trade, it was agreed that each nation should keep vessels cruising off the coast of Africa, and should work in harmony for the putting down of that traffic. Thus by this negotiation war was averted, disputes of long standing were settled, and honorable arrangements entered into for the prevention of crime and punishment of criminals. Few things reflect greater credit upon Webster than his course in this matter. He soon resigned his position as secretary, and the next Congress having a Democratic majority, the Whigs' short lease of power was over.

251. Dorr War; Anti-Renters. (1840–1842.) — When Rhode Island entered the Union, she brought with her the old colonial charter granted by Charles II. (sect. 19). It was liberal for the age in which it was granted, as is shown by the fact that it lasted for two hundred years. Under it the General Assembly of the state at the suggestion of the king restricted the suffrage by imposing a property qualification, except in the case of the eldest sons of voters. The result was that only about one-third of those who in other states

would have had the privilege of voting had that right in Rhode Island. The representation in the Assembly also was very unfair, having remained unchanged since 1663. From time to time petitions to enlarge the basis of suffrage were made to the legislature by the disfranchised class, but these having proved unavailing, the discontented called a convention in 1841 to prepare a new constitution, claiming this procedure as a right belonging to free American citizens. This proposed constitution was submitted to a popular vote, to be cast regardless of the legal provisions regulating the suffrage. A convention called by the order of the legislature also prepared a new constitution, which was submitted to legal voters and rejected by them. The reformers declared their document accepted, and so at the time for the election of state officers, each party elected a set of officials. The reformers chose Thomas W. Dorr governor, and he proceeded to enter upon the duties of such an office May, 1842. The legal governor and his party denounced Dorr and his party, appealed to the President of the United States, and called out the militia. The President increased the garrison of the fort at Newport, and sent the Secretary of War to watch the affair. When Dorr found that it was possible that the United States forces might be arrayed against him, and that his small body of troops was melting away, he fled, and returning to the state in 1844, surrendered, was tried for treason, and condemned to life imprisonment. He was, however, released the next year (1845), under an amnesty bill of the legislature. Taught by experience, the legislature had called a new convention, in which non-voters under the law were allowed to be represented; a new and more liberal constitution was drawn up and afterwards (1842) adopted by a popular vote in which votes of men who were to be enfranchised were received, and so the "Dorr War" came to an

end without bloodshed.[1] Some of the descendants of the old Dutch patroons in New York (sect. 35) still held the lands granted to their ancestors, and claimed from the tenants payment of the old annual dues in produce. A growing dissatisfaction with this arrangement had existed among the tenants, who at last, about 1840, refused to pay rent. The militia were called out to aid in its collection, and this is known as the "Helderberg War." In 1847 and in 1850, a political faction known as the "Anti-Renters" made its appearance. Finally the matter was compromised — the owners offered to sell their rights at a fair figure, the tenants bought them, and this relic of feudalism passed away.



SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

252. Telegraph; Anæsthetics. (1827–1846.) — Activity of thought was not only manifested in social and political matters, but also in the field of science. Samuel F. B. Morse, an American artist, having had his attention turned to electricity as a means for transmitting messages over wires, took out a patent for a system devised by him for this purpose in 1827. Money was lacking, but after long efforts, during the closing hours of a session of Congress, an appropriation of $30,000 was made to assist him in testing the invention. In 1844, with this money a

[1] In 1888 an amendment to the constitution of the state greatly enlarged the suffrage, and in 1893 other restrictions were removed. All the Dorr party desired has now been obtained, and more.

line was set up between Baltimore and Washington, which are forty miles apart, and his plan proved an entire success. The first message sent was, "What hath God wrought?" The telegraph, in connection with steam, has to a wonderful degree changed the way of doing business. The merchant now has the prices of the markets of the world before him every morning, and can buy and sell during the same day in places with which less than fifty years ago it took months to communicate.[1]

The important discovery was made, between 1840 and 1846, that the inhalation of the vapor of sulphuric ether would produce insensibility to pain, and that, while under its influence, the most difficult surgical operations could be performed upon a patient safely, painlessly, and without his knowledge. The honor of this great discovery has been claimed by three physicians, William T. G. Morton and Charles T. Jackson of Massachusetts and C. W. Long of Georgia. The exact amount of credit due to each of these is difficult to determine. Dr. Horace Wells, of Hartford, Connnecticut, demonstrated in 1844 that nitrous oxide, or laughing gas, would produce insensibility to pain. Substances having the effects described are called anæsthetics.

253. The Mormons. (1830–1844.) — The restlessness of the age was also shown in the rise of new sects and of socialistic bodies. Among the former were the Mormons, or "Latter-Day Saints." The founder, Joseph Smith, of western New York, professed to have received a revelation telling him that in a certain hill he would find a book written upon gold plates which would contain a history of the former inhab-

[1] Wheatstone, an Englishman, and another European scientist, invented, independently of Morse and of each other, and about the same time, machines somewhat similar; but Morse's instrument was the most practical, has been most generally adopted, and to him the priority of the invention is *most generally* accorded.

itants of America, and a revelation of the Gospel. With these plates he claimed to have found "two stones in silver bows which had been prepared for the purpose of translating the book." This work he published in 1830, under the title of the Book of Mormon. He and some associates began to gather a little church about them. They accepted the Bible, but claimed that the Book of Mormon was a supplement to it, and they also held that future revelations supplementary to the Bible and to the Book of Mormon might be made. As these must come through the Prophet, or the head of the church, and were to be implicitly obeyed, the head of the Mormon church practically held absolute power.[1] Smith and his followers soon moved to Ohio, and thence to Missouri, being compelled to leave on account of the failure of a bank in which he was interested. Here he staid some time, and continued to gather adherents, until, becoming obnoxious to the people of Missouri for various reasons, and partly on account of their antislavery notions, they were forced to recross the Mississippi River into Illinois, and obtaining a tract of land and a liberal charter from the legislature, they began to build a city, Nauvoo, on the banks of the river. In 1843 a revelation was made, proclaiming polygamy as legal and even praiseworthy. The population of Nauvoo had now become about 15,000, and Smith declined to have the state laws executed within his bounds. It was not long before there was a collision between Smith and the state authorities, and Smith and his brother, having surrendered to the governor, were placed in jail for safe keeping, but a mob overpowered the guard and shot the prisoners.

[1] It has been claimed that the Book of Mormon was written by a man named William Spaulding, of Connecticut, about 1810, and that a copy of the *manuscript fell into* Smith's hands.

254. Mormons in Utah. (**1846–1848.**) — The opposition to the Mormons in no degree lessening, Brigham Young, a very able man, who had been chosen as Joseph Smith's successor, determined to lead the whole band to Utah in the far West, where they could carry out their laws and customs in peace. It was two years before the migration was completed, but in 1848 the whole band was settled in Utah beyond the Rocky Mountains near Great Salt Lake, where they founded Salt Lake City. They named their new state Deseret, which means, according to their interpretation, "The Land of the Honey Bee." The Mormon government for many years was autocratic. The additions to their numbers were chiefly made from Great Britain, Norway, and Sweden, gathered by missionaries frequently sent out. The Mormons were most industrious, and soon had built a handsome city, and had brought the surrounding country under rich cultivation.

255. The South and Texas. (**1827–1836.**) — By the treaty of 1819–1821, by which the United States had acquired Florida, the western boundary of Louisiana was fixed at the river Sabine (sect. 199). The South, wishing to extend slavery, saw a promising field in Texas, which had become a part of Mexico. In 1827 and in 1829 the United States government had offered to buy Texas from Mexico, but the offers were declined, and indeed Mexico has seldom shown any disposition to part with a foot of her territory. Many American settlers, chiefly from the southern states, had migrated into Texas, taking their slaves with them. When Mexico, in 1824, abolished slavery, these settlers kept their slaves as before. In 1836 the Texans revolted from Mexico, set up an independent state of their own, and expelled the Mexican forces. Of the fifty-seven signers of the Declaration of Texan Independence, *fifty are said to* have been from the southern states of the

Union. The Texans, under General Sam Houston, defeated in the battle of San Jacinto the Mexicans led by Santa Anna, the Mexican Dictator, who was forced to recognize the independence of Texas; a recognition that the Mexicans disclaimed.

256. Texas Annexation Pushed. (1837–1844.) — Owing largely to the disordered state of Mexican affairs, little or no effort was made to bring back Texas, though Mexico steadily refused to acknowledge her independence. In 1837 the United States, and not long after, England, France, and Belgium, recognized Texas as an independent power. An inefficient government soon brought the new state almost to bankruptcy, and an annexation to the United States, which many persons think was intended all along, became a matter of as great interest to Texas and her creditors as to the southern slaveholders. In 1837, through her minister at Washington, the first application for admission to the Union was made. A proposition to this effect was rejected in the Senate, and nothing was done for some time. Meantime, between the land speculators who held quantities of land in Texas, of little worth under Texan rule, but sure of a large advance in value should she be admitted as one of the United States, and the politicians who wished to increase the land open to slavery, and also to increase the representation of the South in the Senate, Texan annexation was pushed in every possible way.

It was a difficult undertaking, for neither the Whigs nor the Democrats of the North were in favor of it, and of course the small Liberty party was violently opposed to any such scheme. Van Buren, the most prominent man in the Democratic party, came out against the plan, and in consequence, through the influence of the southern members of the party, failed *of nomination* as candidate for the Presidency.

257. Polk elected; Admission of Texas. (1844–1845.) — The Democratic Convention, then sitting in Baltimore, chose James K. Polk, and his nomination was the first news sent over Morse's telegraph, just set up. Silas Wright in the same way received notice of his nomination as Vice-President, and declined it. The convention refused to believe the reply, and adjourned to the following day, until a messenger sent to verify the tidings could return. Clay, the Whig candidate, also opposed annexation, but in his anxiety to gain southern votes published declarations which displeased the Liberty party and some northern Whigs. In the election which followed he lost thereby the great state of New York by a small majority, and with New York, the election. The result of the election was taken as approving of the annexation; and accordingly, in the last hours of Tyler's administration, Congress passed a resolution in favor of admitting Texas. Tyler signed the document and at once sent off a messenger to Texas with the news; the proposition was accepted by Texas July 4, 1845, and in December of the same year she was formally admitted to the Union. The passage of a resolution which only required a majority of votes, instead of a treaty which would have required a two-thirds vote, was a shrewd political device. Texas was the last slave state admitted, and she is the only truly independent state which has ever entered the Union, no others, not even the original thirteen, having ever exercised the power of making treaties, sending ambassadors, or making *war.*



JAMES K. POLK.

258. Polk's Measures. (1845.) — James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was born in 1795, and had held various political offices, among them Speaker of the House of Representatives for four years. So the cry of the Whigs, "Who is James K. Polk?" had little to justify it. He was a man of excellent private character, but somewhat narrow in his political views, and a strong partisan. Tenacious of his ends, he was generally successful in carrying out what he had planned. The four great measures which he placed before himself were: (1) reduction of the tariff; (2) re-establishment of the Sub-Treasury; (3) settlement of the Oregon boundary question; and (4) the acquisition of California.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MEXICAN WAR AND SLAVERY.

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259. War with Mexico. (1846.) — With the annexation of Texas, the United States succeeded to a quarrel with Mexico. Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her southwestern boundary, while Mexico insisted that the Neuces River was the true division line. President Polk sent an envoy to Mexico, the effect of whose mission was to provoke Mexico into striking the first blow, for the Mexicans would have nothing to do with the envoy, and he returned from a fruitless errand. Meanwhile, General Zachary Taylor, with a small body of troops, had been ordered to Corpus Christi, on the borders of the disputed territory, and a little later to advance to Fort Brown (Brownsville), on the Rio Grande. The Mexicans naturally looked upon this as an invasion of their country, and ordered a body of troops across the river; an engagement soon followed, and the Mexican War was begun. This was April 24, 1846. Polk, as soon as the news reached him, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "War exists, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, — exists by the act of Mexico herself." "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress responded

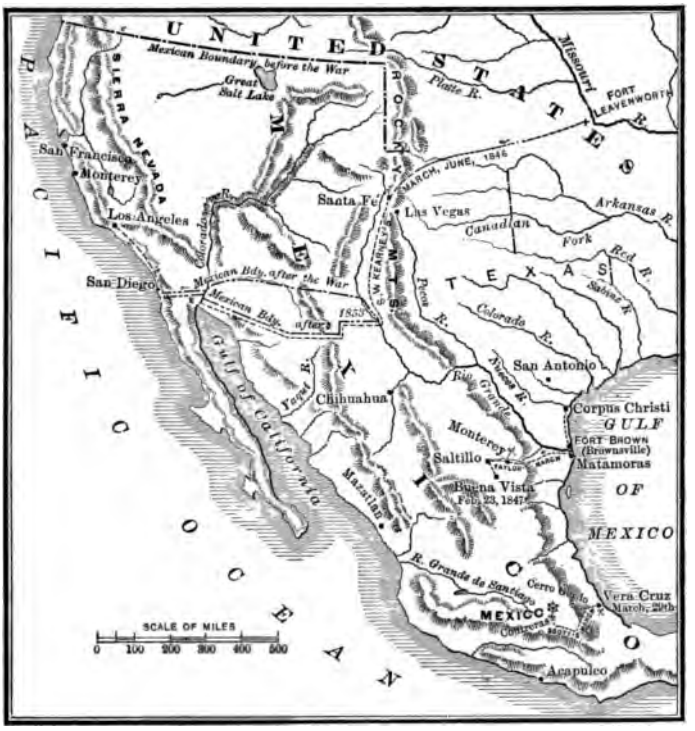
promptly by declaring that war existed "by the act of Mexico," by authorizing a call for 50,000 volunteers and expenditures for military supplies, and by appropriating large sums to meet the expenses.[1] It was in relation to this message and two later ones in which the President re-asserted the charge that Mexico had invaded "our territory" and shed "the blood of our citizens on our own soil" that Abraham Lincoln, in the House of Representatives, introduced in 1847 his "Spot Resolutions," calling upon the President to indicate the exact spot where this had taken place, and to inform the House whether the "citizens" had not been armed soldiers, sent there by the President's own orders.

260. Mexican Campaign; New Mexico. (1846–1847.) — The whole campaign embraced four projects: (1) an attack upon Mexico from the north — this was entrusted to General Zachary Taylor; (2) an attack upon the city of Mexico — this General Winfield Scott led himself; (3) an attack upon New Mexico, including what is now known as Arizona — this was made under the direction of General S. W. Kearney; (4) an attack upon California by the fleet of American vessels which had been sent there in anticipation of war with Mexico. All these plans were carried out. General Taylor, mostly against heavy odds so far as numbers were concerned, defeated the Mexicans successfully at Monterey, and at Buena Vista (February 27, 1847); but the government, having determined to attack the capital, withdrew many of his men, and he was forced to cease operations. Before long, feeling himself

[1] It has been said that "the United States tried in vain to get a payment of what was due her citizens." The justice of these claims was very doubtful at best, and Mexico had done her utmost to pay them, the disordered condition of the country making it almost impossible to collect a revenue. When she thought she saw the meaning of the Texas negotiations, it was not unnatural that she should cease to make payment.

ill-used by the administration, he resigned his position. The United States, however, continued to hold northern Mexico.

The expedition against New Mexico was entirely successful, and by the summer of 1846 it was controlled by United



MAP OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

States forces, and Kearney, leaving some troops to retain it, set off for California; but before he reached it, news was received that it was already in the possession of the Americans, and he was only able to assist in putting down a rising of the Mexicans near Los Angeles.

261. California Captured. (1845–1846.) — In the winter of 1845 Captain John C. Frémont, then on a third exploring expedition west of the Rocky Mountains, passed into California and took up the cause of the American settlers, who claimed to be oppressed by the Mexican governor. An independent government was set up, and through the co-operation of Frémont with Commodores Sloat and Stockton, who had captured almost without a struggle the ports of Monterey, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, the whole of California fell into the hands of the United States. In this way the United States gained a possession of incalculable value.

262. Scott's Campaign; City of Mexico Captured. (1847.) — It being clear that the Mexicans were going to show great obstinacy, it was determined to attack the capital by a new route. In carrying out this plan, a large naval force with 12,000 troops sailed for Vera Cruz, the port of the city of Mexico. After a bombardment of four days, the city, with the fort of San Juan de Ulloa, the strongest fortification in Mexico, surrendered. About the middle of April, 1847, General Winfield Scott began his march to the city of Mexico from the same point and over nearly the same route as Cortez. His discipline, skill, and intelligence, and the excellence of his troops, proved superior to the much larger numbers and far greater natural advantages of the Mexicans. The only serious resistance the American army met on its way to the vicinity of the city of Mexico was at Cerro Gordo, about fifty miles from Vera Cruz. Here, after a short conflict, the Mexicans under Santa Anna were driven back, and the victorious army continued its march. After several sharp battles in the immediate neighborhood of the city of Mexico, that city surrendered September 14, 1847, and the war was practically over.

263. Terms of Peace with Mexico. (1848.) — It was by no means easy to agree upon terms of permanent peace. The one thing upon which the Mexicans of all factions agreed was not to give up any territory, while territory was exactly what the United States had fought for. Moreover, she held the fairest provinces of Mexico and had no intention of returning them. After many fruitless negotiations, and a revolution in Mexico, a treaty was arranged in February, 1848, at a little place near the capital called Guadalupe Hidalgo. By the terms the United States was to pay Mexico $15,000,000, satisfy claims of American citizens against her to the amount of about $3,500,000, and receive in return what was then the territory of New Mexico and Upper California. The Rio Grande was recognized as the boundary of Texas. By this treaty about 522,568 square miles of territory was added to the United States.[1]

The total cost to the United States of the Mexican War was in the neighborhood of $100,000,000, besides the loss of life, which, while small on the battle-field or from wounds, was large from disease. Though successful in every encounter, the country had little reason to glory, for her successes were won in a questionable war against a weak and divided enemy. Had Mexico been a strong power, the United States government would not have dared to act as it did. There was at the time much opposition to the war, though not sufficient to prevent it.[2] While it has been far better that the large terri-

[1] In consequence of a difficulty regarding the exact boundary, a treaty was negotiated with Mexico, through James Gadsden in 1853, by which 45,535 square miles south of New Mexico were purchased from Mexico for the sum of $10,000,000. This tract is usually called the Gadsden Purchase. Texas had added 371,063 square miles, making the total of these additions 939,166 square miles, so that again the United States had acquired more than the area of the original thirteen states.

[2] Lowell's "Bigelow Papers," First Series, express this feeling very clearly.

tory acquired should be under Anglo-Saxon control, there is little reason to doubt that it would soon have come under the rule of the United States through settlement, or purchase, or in some way less questionable than that which was followed.

264. Oregon. (**1815–1846.**) — But it was not only the southern boundaries which were in dispute. The northeastern boundary difficulties with Great Britain had been settled in 1842, but at that time it had not seemed practicable to enter upon the question of the northwestern boundary, which was also in dispute. It was accordingly left for future negotiation, both countries maintaining a joint occupancy of the country west of the Rocky Mountains under an arrangement dating from 1815, and renewed from time to time. Very little was known in the eastern states of the character of the Oregon country. Many able men thought its possession of little moment and were quite ready to yield it to England. Dr. Marcus Whitman, who had been sent out in 1835 by the American Board of Foreign Missions, had become familiar with the country, recognized its great value, and was anxious that the United States should gain undisputed control. In the fall of 1842 he learned that the Hudson's Bay Company, the great English monopoly, were encouraging English immigration, and that a large party of immigrants had already come. He at once determined to carry this news to Washington, and at the same time inform the government and people of the great value of the Oregon country, and the practicability of reaching it by wagons, and so start a stream of emigrants that would take possession of the land. He left Oregon in October, 1842, and riding on horseback reached St. Louis in February, 1843. The dangers, the hairbreadth escapes, and the indomitable perseverance which carried Dr. Whitman and his companion through this terrible winter ride

make a story not often surpassed in the annals of adventure. Dr. Whitman arrived at Washington to find the Ashburton Treaty had been signed six months before, but with the Oregon question unsettled. He supplied information of great importance to the government, circulated printed accounts of Oregon, and took back with him a company of emigrants with two hundred wagons. Walla Walla was reached in safety, after a journey of four months, in October, 1843. This advance guard of American occupation was soon followed by detachments of other settlers.

In the Presidential campaign of 1844, one of the Democratic cries had been, "Fifty-four forty [54° 40′] or fight," that latitude being the southern boundary of the Russian possessions, and one which would exclude Great Britain altogether from the western coast of the continent. It was folly to suppose that England would agree to such terms without a fight. Polk took a warlike tone in his inaugural, which, probably only meant for political effect, stimulated the emigration already begun. In 1845 about 7000 American citizens were actually living within Oregon, while the British occupancy was limited to a few forts and stations of the Hudson's Bay Company. By the Florida treaty of 1819 the parallel of 42° north latitude had been agreed upon as the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and to this line Mexico extended without question; the disputed territory was therefore between 42° and 54° 40′. Of this the United States claimed all, and Great Britain claimed to a point somewhat south of the Columbia River. Neither the United States nor Great Britain had an indisputable claim, and so a compromise was the natural as well as the fairest settlement; and this, despite Polk's warlike tone, was agreed upon. The line 49° north latitude, already the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies, was settled on as the line to the coast, but England

was to retain Vancouver Island. This peaceful settlement "was at once just, honorable, and fortunate."[1]

265. Sub-Treasuries re-established; Tariff; Polk's Success. (1846–1848.) — The Sub-Treasury system had been abolished in 1841, and the government had since availed itself of private banks. At the first session of the new Congress an improved system, though essentially similar to the old one, was devised, and a bill was promptly passed establishing it. This is still in force.

Polk in his first message advised a revision of the tariff so as to reduce duties and make a tariff for revenue only. After a considerable struggle Congress passed a bill known as the Tariff of 1846; this was only a moderately protective measure, and until 1861 the country was more nearly upon a free trade basis than during any period since 1816. Under this tariff all duties were *ad valorem*.

It will be seen that in less than three years Polk had accomplished the main objects he had set before himself on entering office (sect. 258), and he might well feel satisfied with his success. The tariff had been reduced, the Sub-Treasury had been re-established, the Oregon question had been settled, and California had been acquired.

266. Gold in California. (1848.) — No one suspected how valuable California really was. It was known to be excep-

[1] The claims of the United States to Oregon rested (1) on Gray's visit to the Columbia River in 1792 (sect. 174); (2) on Lewis and Clark's explorations (sect. 174); (3) on the Louisiana Purchase; (4) on the Spanish treaty of 1819; (5) on the retrocession by England of Astoria, an American post, after the War of 1812; (6) the American settlements south of the 49° parallel. The treaty was proclaimed in force August 5, 1846. From the coast the boundary line was to follow "the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island. A question having arisen *as to the true channel,* the matter was not settled until 1871 (see sect. 371).

tionally fertile, and this, together with the splendid harbor of San Francisco, was enough to make it highly desirable in American eyes. Scarcely, however, had the treaty with Mexico for its cession been arranged when news was brought of the discovery of gold.[1]

At once (1849) there was a rush to the gold fields. There were then two ways to get there, — around Cape Horn, and by the route overland. By these two routes men hastened to the new El Dorado. Of the two, the overland route was perhaps the more dangerous, for the path lay across vast plains, unoccupied except by herds of buffalo, and hostile Indians, while the Mormons were directly in the track, resenting the invasion of their territory, and doing all in their power to harass the slowly moving trains of emigrants. So great was the loss of cattle, and, indeed, of the emigrants themselves, that it was said that the trail could be known by the whitening bones that lay along it. A third route, by ship or steamer to the Isthmus of Panama, thence across it and by water again to San Francisco, was soon opened, which became the favorite way of reaching California until the Pacific railroad offered a pleasanter and more rapid means of travel. But notwithstanding the hardships, in less than two years there were fully 100,000 emigrants within the bounds of California. Most of the emigrants were from the free states, and this fact had an important influence upon the after history, not only of California, but of the whole country.

[1] The discovery was made by a man named Marshall, during the construction of a mill-race in the valley of the American River, for the saw-mill of a Swiss immigrant, Captain Sutter. Gold was actually discovered in January, 1848, before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been signed, but news travelled so slowly in those days that the fact was not fully appreciated in the eastern states until December, 1848, when President Polk, in his *annual message, confirmed* the reports and gave them great publicity.

267. Wilmot Proviso. (1846.) — While the question of obtaining territory from Mexico was being debated in Congress, David Wilmot, a Democratic member of the House from Pennsylvania, proposed an amendment to the bill providing that slavery should be forever prohibited in any territory that might be purchased from Mexico. This is known from him as the "Wilmot Proviso," and though it passed the House of Representatives (1846), it failed in the Senate. It was, however, a political watchword in the next two or three Presidential campaigns. Hannibal Hamlin (afterwards Vice-President), in the absence of Wilmot, introduced the proviso in the House of Representatives for him.

The acquisition of so much territory again brought up the question of slavery, and in a way that demanded an answer. Texas had been admitted as a slave state, but all the other territory had been free under Mexico. Should it be free or slave under the United States? As a general rule southern men would not settle unless they could take their slaves with them. The North would resist any proposition to make that land slave territory which was already free. If the Missouri Compromise of 1820 were applied to the new country, the line of 36° 30′ would divide California nearly in half; but this satisfied neither the North, for it violated the principle for which they contended, nor the South, for it would shut out a large part of the most desirable lands.

268. Whigs Successful in electing Taylor. (1848.) — In this state of affairs the time for nominating candidates for the Presidency came round. Clear-headed men saw there was now a distinct issue before the country, but the leaders of both the Democrats and the Whigs dodged the question, for each nominating convention refused to commit itself in *regard to slavery*. The Democrats chose Lewis Cass of

Michigan as candidate for President, and William O. Butler of Kentucky for Vice-President. The Whigs, following the course which had been so successful in 1840, nominated Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, with Millard Fillmore of New York for Vice-President. Taylor was a slaveholder, but was believed to be opposed to the extension of slavery. A number of Whigs and northern Democrats supporting the Wilmot Proviso, dissatisfied with the action of the conventions in regard to slavery, resolved to form a new party. A convention of these, held at Buffalo, formed the "Free-soil Party"; the old Liberty party joined them, and the convention nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. In the election which followed, though this party did not get a single electoral vote, it succeeded in dividing the Democrats in New York, with the result of giving that state to the Whigs, and thereby electing Taylor and Fillmore, who received a majority of both the free and the slave states.



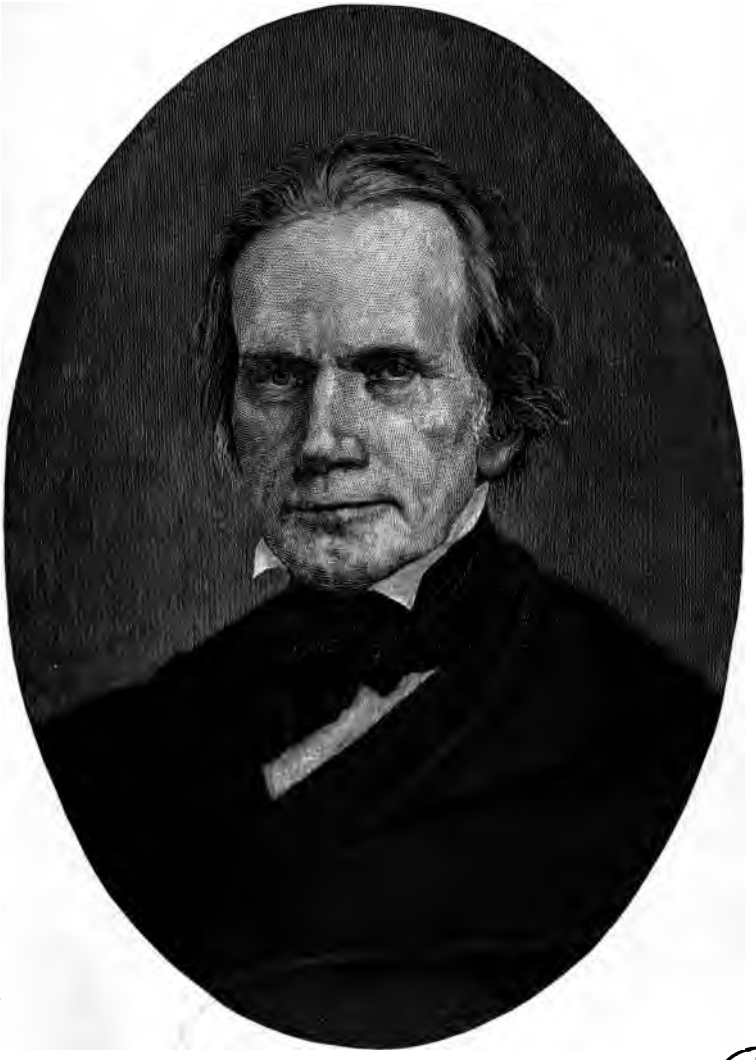
ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Zachary Taylor was born in Virginia in 1784, and till the age of twenty-four remained on his father's plantation. Through the influence of Madison, who was a relative, he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the army. By close attention to his duties, he rose steadily until he became a major-general. His course in the Mexican War has already been described. It was because of his military success alone that he was chosen as a candidate. He himself acknowledged that he had never voted in his life, and had no political training whatever; and many stories were told to show his lack of acquaintance with political affairs. He was a

man of integrity, and proved to be a far better chief officer than many who had had greater opportunities. His death, which occurred after he had been sixteen months in office, was an undoubted loss to the country.

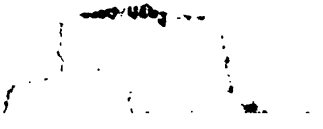
269. California sets up a Government. (1849.) — With the emigrants to California went a large number of ruffians and thieves and villains of all descriptions, and the condition of that country was a lawless one. The order-loving men among the emigrants, disgusted at the dilatoriness of Congress, which had provided no government for them, set up in 1849 a government of their own, and, by the advice of President Taylor, applied to Congress for admission as a state. A clause in the proposed constitution prohibiting slavery aroused opposition to the measure among the southern members of Congress. During the discussion of the question the President died, and the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, assumed the duties of the Presidential office.

270. Difficult Questions before Congress. (1849–1850.) — Texas claimed that her western boundary was the river Rio Grande to its source. This claim took in territory which had always been considered a part of Mexico. But the Texans persevered in their claim, supported by the South as a whole. Should California come in as a free state? Should New Mexico and Utah be organized as territories with or without slavery? Should the claims of Texas be granted? These were the questions before the Congress of 1849–50. Another matter was also forcing itself into notice. The South complained that the old fugitive slave law of 1793, for the return of runaway slaves to their owners, was not enforced, and was also inadequate. The North on its *side complained of* the slave trade in the city of Washington,



HENRY CLAY.

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declaring it a disgrace to the country. It was now evident that the question of slavery had got into politics and would stay there until some settlement could be made.

271. Compromise of 1850.—Extremists on both sides demanded secession as the only remedy, while the moderate men of both sides believed that some arrangement like the Missouri Compromise could be made. As Henry Clay came forward in 1820 as the "Great Pacificator," so now through his influence a committee of the Senate prepared what is known as the "Omnibus Bill," because it provided for so many different things. It was a compromise measure designed to settle all existing troubles. Its different provisions were taken up separately, and finally passed one by one with little modification. This arrangement is known as the Compromise of 1850. The chief points were (1) the admission of California as a free state; (2) the organization of New Mexico and Utah as territories without reference to slavery; (3) that Texas should give up some of her claims to the lands in dispute, but should receive $10,000,000 for so doing; (4) that the slave trade in the District of Columbia should be forbidden, though slavery itself should be allowed (this, while yielding something to the antislavery sentiment, would allow members of Congress and others to bring their slaves to the capital without question); (5) that a new and more stringent fugitive slave law be enacted.

272. Webster and the Fugitive Slave Law. (1850.)—The debate in Congress over these measures was strong and bitter. During it Daniel Webster, in a speech on the 7th of March, 1850, defended the compromise and attacked the Abolitionists as disturbers of the country, at the same time apologizing for slavery. This speech caused a great sensation all over

the country. His motive in making it was probably the fear of secession, though it has never been clearly explained, but the result was that he lost his position as a leader; many of his old friends looked upon him as a renegade, while southern men mistrusted him. Whatever impelled him, his great influence was gone. He died in 1852.

273. California admitted; the Fugitive Slave Law. (1850.) — There seems to be little doubt that the compromise of 1850 was acceptable to the majority of the people both north and south. What they wished for was peace. California was admitted as a free state September 9, 1850, and the other provisions of the compromise were carried out. The new fugitive slave law, however, aroused much feeling when it became more fully understood. Its provisions were most rigid. The whole matter was put under the charge of the United States officials. The fugitive was not permitted to testify; cases were to be decided without a jury by a United States commissioner or judge, from whose decision there was to be no appeal by *habeas corpus* or otherwise; the simple affidavit of the alleged owner or his agent was sufficient, on proof of identity, to send back into slavery; on slight evidence the case could be removed from the state where the alleged fugitive was captured to the state from which it was claimed he had fled; all persons were required to aid in the capture of the runaways should the marshal call on them for help; obstructing the arrest of fugitives, or concealing them, or in any way aiding their escape, was punishable by heavy fine and by imprisonment. At once there arose a cry of defiance from the North that such a law was "unjust, unconstitutional, and immoral." As a political measure the law was very unwise, for nothing that had been done heretofore tended so to force the subject of slavery on the attention of the people

of the North. It was not long before many of the northern states passed "Personal Liberty Laws," designed to obstruct as much as possible the execution of the obnoxious law. Meanwhile the ranks of the antislavery party were being rapidly recruited.

274. Census; Great Increase of Immigration. (1850.) — The census of 1850 showed that the population had increased more than one-third over that of 1840. In every way the country was growing; manufactories were rapidly increasing in the eastern and middle states, railroads were stretching out farther and farther west, commerce, ocean and coastwise, was rapidly extending, the United States being surpassed in tonnage only by Great Britain. In short, the outlook for the country from a material point of view was most flattering. Immigration had increased amazingly. Partly the result of the great famine in Ireland in 1847, partly from the number of political revolutions in Europe caused by the desire for greater liberty, many of which had been put down, and whose supporters had been forced to leave the country, largely through the news of the discovery of gold in California, and the stories of the freedom of America, the number of immigrants increased from a yearly average for the preceding twenty-five years of less than 100,000 to more than 400,000 in 1850. It was a significant fact that, with the most trifling exceptions, all these immigrants settled in the free states and territories.

275. Inventors. (1839–1846.) — Political quarrels and struggles did not choke the spirit of invention and enterprise which is now recognized as an American characteristic. It was, however, only after years of discouragement and toil that Elias Howe, Jr., of Massachusetts, patented his sewing-

machine in 1846. The great feature of his invention was the position of the eye in the point of the needle; it was this that made his machine successful, and all subsequent improvements have retained this feature. It was not until 1854 that Howe fully established his claim and that he reaped the reward of his ingenuity. Several years earlier (1839), Charles Goodyear and Nathaniel Haywood of Connecticut discovered that sulphur mixed with india-rubber at a high temperature would enable the latter article to be worked into almost any shape. This process of treating rubber with sulphur is known as vulcanizing, and was patented in 1844. Many great improvements have since been made, and rubber is now extensively used in the manufacture of a great variety of articles.

276. Postage. (1845.) — Department of the Interior. (1849.) — Previous to 1845 the postage on letters was charged according to the number of sheets and the distance the letter was carried, the amount due being collected on delivery.[1]

In 1845 a new law was passed, reducing the postage to five cents for all distances under three hundred miles and ten cents for greater distances, the charge to be according to weight, a half-ounce being taken as the unit. In 1847 postage stamps of these denominations were issued and the modern system of postal administration fairly begun. In 1851 the postage on letters was again reduced, a uniform

[1] Postage rates were fixed by act of Congress, 1792, and afterwards modified in 1816 and at other times. In 1843, for a distance not over thirty miles, the rate for a single sheet was six cents; from thirty to eighty miles, ten cents; eighty to one hundred and fifty miles, twelve and one-half cents, and so on, according to distance, the highest rate being twenty-five cents for over four hundred miles. Two pieces of paper were charged double these rates. These were the inland charges; ocean postage was proportionally *higher.*

charge of three cents per half-ounce or fraction thereof being established, regardless of distance, except in the cases of the extreme West and the Pacific coast.[1] In 1875 the International Universal Postal Union, with headquarters at Berne, began operations, and now almost all nations have joined it, making uniform international postal rates for nearly the whole world. This is one of the greatest triumphs of modern civilization.

In 1849 a new department was added to the executive branch of the government, called the Department of the Interior, because everything under its charge is connected with internal affairs. It has under its direction a greater variety of interests than any of the other branches of the government; among them are the Public Lands, the Patent Office, Pensions, the Indians, the Census, and Education. The Secretary is a member of the President's Cabinet. Most of the duties had previously been performed by the Department of State.

277. New Party Leaders; Presidential Nominations. (1852.) — In 1850 John C. Calhoun died, in 1852 Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. New party leaders came upon the arena both from the South and North. Among the Democrats were Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi; among the southern Whigs, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia; while the new Antislavery party gained a tower of strength in Congress by the election to seats in the House or Senate of Charles Sumner of Massa-

[1] The postage on papers, books, and printed matter was also (1851) greatly lessened. In 1883 the letter rate was reduced to two cents, and in 1885 the unit was made one ounce. Postal cards, introduced by Austria, were first issued by the United States in May, 1873. Ocean postage was also, largely through the efforts of the United States, reduced to five cents per half-ounce *(or to speak accurately,* per fifteen grammes), printed matter in proportion.

chusetts, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and William H. Seward of New York.

It was now inevitable that a change would take place in the great political parties of the country. Slavery must divide the northern and southern wings of both Democrats and Whigs. The antislavery Whigs began to go to the Free-soil party, as did also the antislavery Democrats of the North. In the South the pro-slavery Whigs tended to unite with the Democrats; thus both North and South the Whigs were losing numbers, while the Democratic losses in the North were more than offset by the gains in the South. When the time came round to choose a President, the Whigs, hoping to win again through military glory, nominated General Winfield Scott, with William A. Graham of North Carolina for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for President, and William R. King of Alabama for Vice-President. Both the Whigs and the Democrats upheld in their platforms the Compromise of 1850, including the fugitive slave law. The Free-soil convention nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana. In the election the Democrats carried all the states except four, though in some the majority was small.[1]

278. Franklin Pierce; World's Fairs; Japan. (1853.) — The Free-soil party actually polled a smaller vote than four years before. It seemed as if the Compromise of 1850 was about to be fairly tested. Though Pierce had been in political life for a number of years, and had been a brigadier-general in the Mexican War, he had done nothing to bring himself before the notice of the country at large; he was nominated

[1] The four states were Massachusetts, Vermont, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

simply because the convention was afraid to nominate one of the party leaders.

Among the peaceful occurrences of this troubled administration may be mentioned the American World's Fair, which was held at New York in 1853. England had held in 1851, at London, a grand exhibition to illustrate the world's progress in arts and sciences, to which she had invited the world to contribute. This had been a great success, and the United States wished to follow her example. The New York Fair, while it did not pay expenses, was of great use in giving a knowledge of the products and manufactures of other countries. These two fairs were the pioneers of the numerous ones which have followed in various lands.

Japan, like China, had closed her ports to foreign countries for centuries, but Commodore Matthew C. Perry, who had been sent in 1853 to try to open negotiations, succeeded in 1854 in making a treaty with the military ruler of the country, by which certain ports were opened, thus accomplishing by skilful diplomacy that which other nations had attempted in vain.

279. Pacific Railroads; "Uncle Tom's Cabin." (1853.) — The acquisition of California, the discovery of gold there, and the prospect of intercourse with Japan, heightened the desire for communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by some route shorter than around Cape Horn or by the way of the Isthmus. With this end in view the government sent out, in 1853, an expedition to explore the different routes that might seem suitable for a railroad to the Pacific. A full report of these various surveys was published by Congress, and forms a valuable account of that part of the country at that time. It was not until 1862 that a Pacific railroad was begun, and it was not until seven years later that the East *and West were joined* by rails. (Sect. 366.)

In 1853 Harriet Beecher Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a story of slave life in the South. This book made an immense sensation, and within a year of its publication over 200,000 copies had been sold. It presented the subject of slavery in a way that took hold of the public, and it was largely instrumental in changing the question from a political to a moral one. Few books have had so rapid and so wide a circulation. It was read all over Europe, and has been translated into twenty different languages.[1]

280. Kansas-Nebraska Bill. (1854.) — By the Missouri Compromise (sect. 205) slavery was not to be allowed outside of the state of Missouri, north of the line of 36° 30′. The Compromise of 1850 (sect. 271) had done nothing to interfere with this arrangement, for it related only to land acquired from Mexico, while the Missouri Compromise related to the Louisiana Purchase. It would seem that slavery as a national question was settled, at least for a time, by the compromises of 1820 and of 1850. To bring up the question again was certainly a political blunder. But in 1854 Stephen A. Douglas, a Democratic senator from Illinois, introduced into Congress what is known as the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," which provided for the organization of two new territories west of Missouri and Iowa, both within the Louisiana Purchase and north of the line of 36° 30′. In this bill it was declared that the question of the allowance of slavery in the territories was one to be decided by the inhabitants of the territories, and not by Congress; that Congress, in 1820, had no right to legislate concerning slavery, and that therefore it was still an open question. This doctrine was called at the time "Squatter Sovereignty," the early settlers being often called

[1] Its popularity is still very great. It was first issued as a serial story in *the National Era, an Anti*-Slavery newspaper published at Washington, D.C.

squatters. Though the northern members of Congress insisted that this was a breach of faith, and that such a result was not thought of in the Compromise of 1850, the bill was passed and signed by the President. Probably neither side had any idea of the result which was to follow such action.

281. American Party. (**1852–1856.**) — About this time a new party was organized, called by its members the "American Party," but which was generally known as the "Know-Nothing" party. This name arose from the fact that in the earlier days of the organization it was a secret order, whose members, when asked any questions about it, always answered, "I don't know." As the name American indicated, it was opposed to everything foreign, its watchword being "America for Americans." The large increase in the number of immigrants and the looseness with which the naturalization laws were carried out, made the restriction of the suffrage to native Americans, except after long residence, a cardinal doctrine of the "Americans." To this was added, at first, opposition to the alleged political influence of the Catholic Church. This party grew rapidly, and at one time it seemed likely to become a rival to the Democrats; but, dodging the question of slavery, it tried to make "nativism" a national issue. Where so many voters were immigrants themselves, it was natural that the attempt failed, and, enjoying but a brief existence, the party disappeared after the Presidential election of 1856.

282. Condition of the South. (**1852.**) — The southern people did not encourage free immigrants, for they were afraid that free labor would make the slaves discontented, and in the end lead to insurrections. In fact, the slaveholder was afraid *of anything that might* increase the intelligence of his slaves.

and this was very natural; for he had found from experience that as a negro gained knowledge he became more and more dissatisfied with his condition. The result of this policy was that even agriculture became less and less profitable; the cultivation of cotton and tobacco claiming in a large part of the South almost the whole attention of the planters, while wheat and corn, both of which were adapted to the climate, were too often neglected. Rotation of crops was not observed, nor was the land properly enriched. Though the aggregate of the cotton and tobacco crops increased, the profits became less, on account of the wasteful and unscientific methods of cultivation employed. The plantations were often managed by overseers who had little or no interest in anything except how to get the largest returns year by year, regardless of the effect on the land; the slaves, on their part, wished to do as little work as possible, and were apt to distrust improved methods and implements; and some of the planters paid little attention to their estates, often spending a large part of their time away from home. So, though it was not recognized at the time, the South was pursuing a suicidal policy if she wished to keep abreast of the North. A very few, in both North and South, saw the real tendency of affairs and spoke out, but they were not believed. One thing, however, the southern leaders did see clearly, which was that their political power, before long, would be greatly lessened unless something could be done to change the course of events.

283. Representation in Congress; Cuba. (1850–1852.) — The membership of the House of Representatives is based upon population; and as the free states were increasing faster than the slave states (Appendix, vi.), it was simply a question of time when the former would have control of both branches of Congress. The South had long seen this. A glance at

the tables of representation in Congress (Appendix, viii.) will show that from 1820 to 1848 the representation of the sections of the country in the Senate were equal. That this was so was due to the fact that a slave state was admitted to balance every free state, but in 1850 this arrangement came to an end by the admission of California as a free state. So it was clear that in the Senate also the South would lose control if anything should divide the Democratic party. For this reason, it was a mistake for the Democrats to support the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, as it could hardly fail to divide the northern Democrats.

One way to retain power was to acquire more territory which would be open to slavery. For this purpose the island of Cuba offered most attractions: in it slavery already existed; it was fertile and well adapted to the cultivation of crops usually raised by slave labor, and was owned by Spain, a weak and needy power, who might be forced, if not cajoled, into disposing of it to a powerful neighbor. At first, adventurers tried to seize Cuba, with the idea of subsequent admission to the Union. These Filibusters, as they were called, were unsuccessful in their attempt to seize the island, and a number of them having been captured, were promptly executed by the Spanish government.[1]

284. Ostend Manifesto. (**1854.**) — In 1854 the United States ministers to Great Britain, to France, and to Spain, who were respectively James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Pierre Soulé,' were instructed by President Pierce to meet and confer as to the best means of acquiring Cuba. They met

[1] The most notorious of the Filibusters was "General" William Walker, who organized several expeditions against the Central American States between 1855 and 1860. After actually succeeding in making himself at one time President of Nicaragua, he was at last captured and shot in Honduras, *in 1860. The Civil War* put an end to filibustering.

at Ostend, Belgium, and after some discussion issued what is known as the "Ostend Manifesto," a document in which they said that the possession of Cuba was a necessity for the United States; that if Spain persisted in refusing to sell the island, the United States would be justified in seizing it. This paper occasioned considerable comment abroad, but the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the threatening aspect of home affairs, prevented any further agitation of the subject.

285. Troubles in Kansas. (1854–1858.) — The principle of "squatter sovereignty" having been made the rule for the new territories, it was evident that to whichever party the greatest number of settlers belonged, that party would be able to make the territory, and the subsequent state, free or slave, as the case might be. Accordingly, as soon as the bill was signed, both North and South began to pour settlers into the new territories, but especially into Kansas. In this struggle the North had the decided advantage, for the slaveholders hesitated about taking their slaves where there was a risk of losing them. In the eastern states great interest was taken in western emigration, and societies were organized for encouraging and aiding it. In order to escape passing through Missouri, the emigrants from the free states took the roundabout way through Iowa. The settlers who opposed slavery were soon in the majority; but as all the settlers were near the Missouri boundary, the pro-slavery party was reinforced by men from the latter state, who crossed the line and voted more than enough ballots at every election to counterbalance the free vote; sometimes, indeed, the number of ballots counted was more than the whole number of voters in the territory. The free settlers declined to recognize legislatures so chosen or laws made by them, but, hold-

ing elections of their own, chose legislatures and framed constitutions in accord with their own views. Of course, the pro-slavery element refused to acknowledge these actions, and unfortunately the trouble did not stop with words and elections. Men were attacked and shot, and houses and whole villages were destroyed by the "Border Ruffians," as they were called. The settlers from the East and North, feeling that their just rights were invaded, met force with



VOTING-PLACE IN KANSAS, 1855.

force, and retaliated with a severity perhaps quite equal to that which they themselves experienced. The whole territory was in a state of actual war. The administration at Washington generally sided with the pro-slavery party; but though governor after governor was sent out, it seemed impossible to preserve peace. It was not long before the free settlers had so increased in numbers as to be warranted in asking that the territory should be admitted to the Union as a state, but though petitioning Congress more than once, *their request was not* granted until 1861.

CHAPTER XIV.

INCREASE OF SECTIONAL FEELING.

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286. "Anti-Nebraska Men"; Republicans; Charles Sumner. (1854–1856.) — The Kansas trouble caused intense excitement in the country and on the floors of Congress, and "bleeding Kansas" was a phrase often used in the North. In the election following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the opponents of the measure united and elected enough members to control the House of Representatives. These at first were called Anti-Nebraska men; but it was not long before they took the name of Republicans, and formed the Republican party. This party, since so well known, was composed chiefly of the old northern antislavery Whigs, with whom were joined many of those who held antislavery views in the Free-soil, the American, and the Democratic parties. The new party had few sympathizers in the South, except among the Germans of Missouri and among the inhabitants of western Virginia.

During the debate in Congress Charles Sumner, a senator from Massachusetts, spoke very severely of one of the South Carolina senators. Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, and a nephew of the aggrieved senator, came into the Senate chamber after the adjournment of that body, and, attacking Sumner while seated at his desk, beat him about the head with a heavy cane, injuring him so severely that for nearly four years he was unable to resume his place. For this assault Brooks was censured by the House of Representatives, of which he was a member, and fined by a Washington court of justice. He at once resigned his place, but was almost unanimously re-elected, only six votes being cast *against him.* This incident contributed greatly to the bitter

feeling already existing between the great sections of the country.

287. Presidential Nominations and Election of 1856. — The Presidential election of 1856 was one of the most important that had yet been held. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, both supporters of the Kansas-Nebraska bill; the American party ignored the slavery question, and nominated Millard Fillmore of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee. The new Republican party met for the first time in a convention, and nominated John C. Frémont of California, and William L. Dayton of New Jersey. The cry of the new party was, "Free soil, free speech, free men, and Frémont." In the election which followed, Buchanan and Breckenridge were chosen; but the new party, hardly two years old, had carried eleven out of the fifteen free states, and polled a popular vote of nearly a million and a half. The Americans only carried the state of Maryland, and from this time ceased to exist as a party. The signs of the times clearly indicated that, in another four years, an antislavery President might be chosen.

288. "Dred Scott Case"; Fugitive Slaves. (1856–1857.) — Curiously enough, the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise (sect. 205) had never been brought up before the United States Supreme Court until 1856. Though the case had been argued, the decision of the court was not made public till after the inauguration of Buchanan. When published, the "Dred Scott decision" created great indignation in the North, for it upheld the extreme southern view of slavery in almost all respects. It said, in short, that negroes *could not* be citizens; that they were property, and therefore *slaves could* be taken anywhere in the United States in the

same way as other property; that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional; and that Congress had no right to forbid slavery in the territories. If the Kansas-Nebraska bill had been obnoxious to the North, this decision was far more so, and many determined to ignore it, and, if needful, resist the execution of decrees in accordance with it. That Chief Justice Taney was sincere in his opinion, no one can doubt, but he allowed himself to go beyond the legal questions at issue, and to make a political and historical argument which was, to say the least, inappropriate and unbecoming.

Soon after the rise of the antislavery movement there came into existence what was known as "The Underground Railroad." This was simply a number of Abolitionists who sympathized with the fugitive slaves, secreted them, and helped them on from point to point on their way to Canada or some other place of safety. Several instances of fugitive slaves reclaimed under the law of 1850 excited the anger of many in the North, and made the execution of the law more and more difficult. When the decision of the Supreme Court was added to what had been done before, the patience of many was exhausted, and they made no secret of their views; thus the feeling between the sections became more embittered than ever. Still the majority of the people of the free states were so much occupied with their own personal concerns that they looked upon slavery as a necessary evil in the states where it existed, and, believing that it was in such cases a state matter, would have gladly welcomed a way to take it out of national politics. The Abolitionists were in 1857 a small body.

289. James Buchanan; the Mormons. (1857.) — James Buchanan was sixty-six years old. He was a man of good character, a trusted politician in his party, which had

bestowed upon him many political offices, and he was favorable to the pro-slavery element. He declared it to be his purpose to execute the "high and responsible duties" of his office "in such a manner as to restore harmony and ancient friendship among the people of the several states."

The Mormons (sect. 254) had prospered in their new western home, but they had declined to be bound by the United States laws. They had also tried to prevent the immigration of Non-Mormons, and were believed to have murdered many immigrants who came near their territory. In 1857 the President sent a detachment of troops to bring them into obedience. After some delay and difficulty this was nominally done, but the Mormons continued to ignore the laws relating to polygamy for many years longer.



JAMES BUCHANAN.

290. Panic; Ocean Telegraph Cable. (1857.) — Everything had seemed so prosperous in the country that, as in 1837, many new enterprises had been started, especially in the building of railroads. These were built faster than the demand called for, and the earnings in many cases were not enough to pay expenses, much less dividends. Soon a very large number of railroad shares were thrown upon the market for sale, resulting in a panic, which affected business generally, and the number of mercantile failures in the country was very great.

As early as 1846 a telegraphic message had been sent under the Hudson River, by means of a wire covered with gutta-percha. This had proved that it was practicable to *send messages* under water, and soon cables of moderate length

were laid on the beds of rivers and narrow bodies of water. Cyrus W. Field, a wealthy merchant of New York, became interested in a project to lay a telegraphic line across the Atlantic Ocean. A company of English and Americans was formed, and soundings were made in the ocean to discover the nature of the bottom. It was found that between Newfoundland and Ireland the depth did not exceed two and one-half miles, while the bottom was nearly level. This has since been called the Telegraphic Plateau. After many experiments and efforts a line was successfully laid in 1858, but, after a few messages had been sent back and forth, the line refused to work; but the practicability of an ocean telegraph had been demonstrated, though it was not until 1866 that a thoroughly successful cable was laid (sect. 364).

291. Gold; Silver; Oil Fields. (1858–1859.) — Little had been known of the mineral resources of the country between Kansas and the Rocky Mountains, but in 1858 gold was discovered in Colorado; and in the same year the famous Comstock lode at Virginia City, Nevada, was found, one of the richest silver deposits in the world. Other mines of gold and silver, and of other valuable minerals, including coal, were discovered in the West, showing it to be a region rich in mineral wealth. In 1859, near Titusville, in western Pennsylvania, while digging a well, a deposit of coal-oil or petroleum was struck, and the "oil fields" of Pennsylvania and of other states soon brought vast wealth to their owners, while the oil itself nearly displaced altogether the animal oils hitherto used for illumination, and became an article of great commercial importance. The products manufactured out of the crude oil are almost innumerable, — dyes, medicines, and articles used in almost all the arts, — and the list is continually increasing.

292. John Brown. (1859.) — In the autumn of 1859 the whole country, but especially the South, was startled by an attempt to incite the slaves to an insurrection. John Brown, of Ossawatomie, Kansas, had been prominent in the Kansas war, and was filled with a desire to liberate the slaves of the South. Supposing that an opportunity and a leader was all that was needed to arouse them, he, with a force of less than twenty-five men, seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, on the Potomac, in Virginia. Of course he was soon overpowered, and in accomplishing this several of his men, including two of his sons, were killed. He himself, badly wounded, was taken prisoner with most of his little band. He was tried by the Virginia courts, condemned, and executed. In the South this attempt was regarded as a proof that many in the free states wished to incite insurrections among the slaves; while, in the North, surprise was mingled with pity and admiration for the self-sacrificing courage of the man, though the vast majority wholly disapproved of his action, and looked upon him as a fanatic.

293. Nominations. (1860.) — The great Democratic party was now confronted with the question of slavery in a way that could not be ignored; and, in 1860, at the convention for nominating a candidate for President, after a discussion that showed irreconcilable differences, the delegates separated; and the two portions, each holding a new convention, nominated each its own candidates. One division supported Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, and popular sovereignty; while the other division, holding pro-slavery views, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon. The American party, the remnants of the old Whigs, and some Democrats, calling *themselves the* Constitutional Union party, nominated John

Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, adopting as their platform the indefinite declaration, "The Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws." The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine (Sect. 299).

Thus there were four tickets in the field, and probably there never was a time when the actual political feelings of the country were better represented by party candidates. The Douglas platform said "squatter sovereignty" and the Supreme Court must settle the slavery question. The Breckinridge platform said "Slavery must be taken into the territories and protected there." The Union party dodged the question of slavery altogether. The Republican platform said slavery must be kept out of the territories whatever else might happen. The division of their opponents gave a good majority of the electoral votes to the Republican candidates, who received also the largest popular vote, and carried every free state except New Jersey, where three electoral votes were cast for Douglas.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1860.

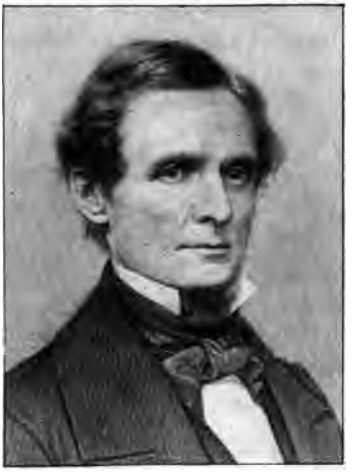
294. Secession. (**1860–1861.**) — For the first time a distinctly antislavery party had elected a President, and though the new Congress had not a Republican majority in either house, the southern leaders thought the time had come to resort to separation. Had the question of secession been submitted to a popular vote, in 1860, in all the southern states, except South Carolina, it would probably have received a negative answer. The legislature of South Carolina, *which still cast* the electoral vote of the state, remained

in session until Lincoln's election was assured, and then, calling a convention, it adjourned. The convention soon met, and on December 20, 1860, passed an ordinance of secession. This document declared "that the union now existing between South Carolina and the other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." The governor of the state issued a proclamation announcing the fact; preparations were at once made to provide for an independent government, and messengers were sent to the other slave states to persuade them to follow the example of South Carolina. Within about six weeks Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and somewhat later (February 23, 1861) Texas, had held conventions and passed secession ordinances. The remaining slave states declined to follow at once, desiring to wait further developments.

295. Confederate States of America. (1861.) — Delegates from the states named, except Texas, appointed by the conventions, met February 4, 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a government under the name of "The Confederate States of America." A provisional constitution, modelled very closely upon that of the United States, was adopted February 8, 1861, and the next day the Congress elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi provisional president, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice-president, each state having one vote. A permanent constitution was adopted by the Congress March 11, and was ratified by the conventions of the states to which it was referred.

This constitution was that of the United States, modified or changed where it seemed necessary. The words "Confederate States" and "Confederacy" were substituted for "United States" and "Union" wherever the latter phrases occurred. Among the changes were the distinct assertion of

"the sovereign and independent character" of each state;[1] the introduction of the word "slave"; the prohibition of protective tariffs, and of appropriations of public money for internal improvements; the permission granted to the President to veto items in appropriation bills, and to the Congress to allow each member of the Cabinet a seat upon the floor of either house "with the privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to his department." The term of the President was made six years, and he was restricted to one term.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

296. Election of Davis and Stephens. — (1861.) New Government. (1862.) — At an election held November 6, 1861, Davis and Stephens were re-elected by a unanimous electoral vote. The new permanent government went into operation February 22, 1862, at Richmond, Virginia, which had been chosen as the capital of the new Confederacy.

The government never was completely established, as no Supreme Court was organized. The sessions of the Congress were generally held in secret, and it did little but register the will of the executive branch of the government; the war powers granted to the executive, or exercised by it, overriding everything else.

In the conduct of the early secession movement there seems to have been an endeavor to copy the action of the colonies

[1] Notwithstanding this, the constitution provided for "a permanent federal *government.*"

at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Everything was referred to conventions, and it was only after the war had begun that measures were referred to a popular vote. So fully, however, was the doctrine of state sovereignty held in the South that as soon as a state had seceded, even though the method may not have been approved, the citizens as a whole went with the state. In this way many who had spoken strongly against secession, chiefly on the ground of its being inexpedient, afterwards supported the act in legislative assemblies and on the battle-field.

297. Buchanan; Peace Conference. (**1861.**) — Meanwhile the United States Congress had met; President Buchanan sent in his message, taking somewhat similar ground to that which Andrew Jackson had taken thirty years before.

But, while denying the right of secession, Buchanan seems to have doubted whether the United States had the legal power to coerce a state, and he refused to assume the responsibility of even attempting to take any such measure while Congress was in session.

It was natural that men's thoughts should be turned back to other crises in the history of the country, and that an effort to compromise should be tried. A peace conference was called by Virginia to meet at Washington, and was attended by delegates from twenty-one states; but the amendments proposed to be made to the Constitution were unsatisfactory, and the conference did little more than show that even the moderate men of the country could not agree on a compromise.

298. Inaction at the North; Fort Sumter. (**1861.**) — Buchanan's cabinet was composed in part of southern men, and was *divided in sentiment*; some members sympathized with the

South, and some did not believe in coercion. The result was inaction when the times called loudly for prompt and vigorous measures. This halting and vacillating conduct of the government was of great advantage to the southern leaders.

As soon as each state had passed an ordinance of secession the senators and representatives in the United States Congress withdrew, generally taking leave of Congress in a speech. All this time the government was doing little or nothing to prepare for a conflict, while the southern states were seizing the United States stores of military supplies, drilling militia, and making every other preparation for armed resistance.

Fort Moultrie, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was garrisoned by a small body of troops under the command of Major Robert Anderson. Anticipating an attack by the state troops, he determined to remove his little force to another fort, which, though unfinished, seemed to offer a better chance of defence. This was Fort Sumter, to which, on the evening of December 26, 1860, he transferred his troops and supplies. These latter were inadequate even for the few men whom he had. At length the President, Buchanan, sent a merchant steamer, the *Star of the West*, to Charleston with supplies for the garrison, but the battery which the state authorities had thrown up on Morris Island fired on her, and she returned without accomplishing her purpose.

299. Inauguration of Lincoln. (1861.) — Before March, 1861, all the forts belonging to the United States in the seceded states, except Sumter in South Carolina, Pickens at Pensacola, Florida, and Key West, had been surrendered to the state authorities. Seven states had declared themselves out of the Union, and it was believed that the remaining slave states would secede if any force were used to compel the

return to the Union of those already claiming to be out; the views of the people of the free states were unknown, though it was believed that many would deprecate any appeal to force. Such was the condition of the country when the time for the inauguration of Lincoln drew near. It was truly a discouraging prospect. Some of Lincoln's friends, who feared the risk of a public journey, persuaded him to travel secretly the last part of the way to Washington. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, a large body of troops being present by arrangement of General Scott.



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Lincoln's inaugural address was conciliatory and very far removed from anything like abolitionism. The situation of the new administration was difficult in the extreme; many of the office-holders were in sympathy with the secessionists, and it was almost impossible to know in whom to trust. The President, while conciliatory, soon made it clear that his administration would not be lacking in firmness.

Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, and died April 15, 1865. Recent investigations show that his family was of New England stock, and that his antecedents were by no means so ignoble as some biographers have represented. His father moved to Indiana in 1816, and in 1830 to Illinois. Abraham Lincoln's early life was the hard, rough-and-tumble life of a frontier settler. *He learned to chop* wood and split rails, to help his father in

carpentry, and in all kinds of farm work. He said of himself he went to school "by littles," and that "in all it did not amount to more than a year." But he read every book and newspaper he could get hold of, and everything he read he made his own. Whatever he undertook he mastered. He was a storekeeper, a postmaster, and a land surveyor; later he studied law, was elected to the legislature, and was representative in Congress 1847–49 (Sect. 259). He was candidate for United States senator in 1858, but was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, with whom he had travelled through the state debating political questions. When nominated for the Presidency he was comparatively unknown outside of Illinois. His kindly nature, great ability, and broad statesmanship gained him the affection and confidence of the people to a degree unequalled except in the case of Washington (Sect. 354).

300. Sumter fired upon. (**April 12, 1861.**) — Shortly after the inauguration, the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, refused to recognize a delegation sent from the Confederate Congress at Montgomery, to treat for an amicable separation. On the 8th of April President Lincoln's official notification that Fort Sumter would be provisioned by force, if necessary, reached the governor of South Carolina, orders having been given to send a fleet thither. Before the fleet could reach its destination, fire had been opened upon Fort Sumter, April 12, by the batteries which had been built along the shores of Charleston harbor, and to which Major Anderson had replied. After a steady fire of over twenty-four hours, having exhausted his ammunition and the fort being on fire, he surrendered, receiving the honors of war, and with his troops sailed to New York. No one was killed on either side during the bombardment.

CHAPTER XV.

CIVIL WAR.

REFERENCES.

Note. — It is still too soon to look for a calm history of the Civil War and of the years immediately succeeding it. Much light is thrown upon the period by the volumes of personal memoirs, recollections, and diaries. The periodical literature of the last few years, particularly the articles which have appeared in the Atlantic Monthly, Century, Forum, Harper's, and the North American Review, is the source of much information. Poole's Index to Periodical Literature has made these articles easy of consultation.

General. — John C. Ropes, The Story of the Civil War; Bryant and Gay, Popular History of the United States, iv. 447–568; W. Wilson, Division and Reunion (Epochs of American History), pp. 218–233, 239–250; E. Channing, The United States, pp. 258–289; Horace Greeley, The American Conflict, i. 449–630, ii. 1–528; James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress, i. 313–487; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln, vols. vi.–x.; Alex. H. Stephens, The War between the States, ii. 370–575; Jefferson Davis, The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, i. 301–519, ii. 11–515; E. A. Pollard, The Lost Cause, pp. 108–489; H. A. Wise, Seven Decades of the Union, Chaps. xiv., xv.; Goldwin Smith, The United States, pp. 253–273.

Biographies. — J. T. Morse, Abraham Lincoln; Ida M. Tarbell, Life of Abraham Lincoln; U. S. Grant, Personal Memoirs; W. T. Sherman, Memoirs; P. H. Sheridan, Memoirs; G. B. McClellan, McClellan's Own Story; A. A. Long, Robert E. Lee; J. E. Cooke, Robert E. Lee; J. E. Cooke, "Stonewall" Jackson; R. M. Johnston and W. H. Browne, Alex. H. Stephens; J. E. Johnston, Personal Memoirs; J. B. Hood, Personal Memoirs; A. T. Mahan, Admiral Farragut.

Special. — Alex. Johnston, American Politics, Chap. xx.; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, 1861–1863 (contains many valuable documents and much important information, but the conclusions and opinions given often *need revision*). For Military Histories: "Campaigns of the Civil War"

and "The Navy in the Civil War," a series of volumes written by specialists; T. A. Dodge, A Bird's-eye View of the Civil War; R. Johnson, A Short History of the Civil War. Foreign Affairs: W. H. Seward, Diplomatic History of the Civil War; E. Schuyler, American Diplomacy. F. W. Taussig, Tariff History of the United States; John Jay Knox, United States Notes; Ben Perley Poore, Reminiscences; L. E. Chittenden, Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration. Emancipation Proclamation: Old South Leaflets, No. 11; Alex. Johnston, American Orations, iii. 127–198; Edward McPherson, Political History of the Rebellion. Life in the South: Thomas Nelson Page, The Old South; George Cary Eggleston, A Rebel's Recollections; R. B. Jones, A Rebel War Clerk's Diary; Atlantic Monthly, lviii. 229, lxiv. 449; Harper's Monthly, xxxiii. 576; Century Magazine, xxx. 752, xxxviii. 931. Capture of New Orleans: Century Magazine, xxix. 918. Negro Troops: Horace Greeley, The American Conflict, ii. 511–528. Prisoners: Alex. H. Stephens, The War between the States, ii. 498–521; Horace Greeley, The American Conflict, ii. 761; Goldwin Smith, The United States, pp. 283, 284.

301. Effect of the Fall of Fort Sumter; Baltimore. (1861.) — The effect of the news of this engagement was marvellous. Up to this time most of the northern men had not believed that the South was in earnest; they thought that the questions were political, and like similar ones in the past would somehow be settled as heretofore. Others, like Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, had said if the South wished to go she should be allowed to go in peace. A few sympathized wholly with the South; but when the news of the fall of Sumter was received, the people of the free states seemed to be of one mind, everything else was forgotten; and when President Lincoln, on April 15, two days after the surrender, issued his call for 75,000 volunteers, "to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national union," the answer was prompt. Thousands more than were called for volunteered, and provisions, money, arms, and supplies of all kinds were tendered by states and by individuals.

The first object of the government was to provide for the

safety of the city of Washington, for there was a strong probability that Virginia would secede. What course the state of Maryland would pursue was uncertain; the politicians, and the people of the southern counties were almost wholly in sympathy with the South, while the majority of the people of the whole state disapproved of secession. At this time, however, the true condition of affairs was difficult to ascertain, and it was due to the promptness of the national government, and the skill of the governor, supported by some able and prominent men, that the state did not secede. As a Massachusetts regiment was passing through the city of Baltimore, on the 19th of April, it was attacked by a mob, and a number were killed. This was the first blood shed in the strife. For a few days the troops avoided Baltimore by going down the Chesapeake Bay, landing at Annapolis, and proceeding thence to Washington. But direct communication was soon resumed, and there was no more trouble with Maryland.

302. Effect of the Fall of Sumter in the South and in the Border States. (1861.) — If the effect of the fall of Sumter was to unite the North, it also had a similar effect on the South. Many who thought secession inexpedient rushed to the defence of their states as soon as coercion was begun, and the call for troops by the Confederate government was answered with as much enthusiasm as the call of Lincoln in the North. Of the slave states which had not seceded, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia joined the Confederacy, upon the call of the United States government for troops to put down the rebellion. Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, though containing many secessionists, remained loyal, while in Delaware there was little or no sympathy with secession.[1]

[1] The states seceded in the following order: Arkansas, May 6; North *Carolina, May 20; Virginia*, May 23; Tennessee, June 8. In no case was

303. The Blockade. (1861.) — Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy, replied to Lincoln's call for troops and proclamation of April 15, by a proclamation on the 17th offering "letters of marque and reprisal" against the United States. Lincoln, on the 19th, proclaimed a partial, and, on the 23d, a general, blockade of all southern ports. As the South had few manufactures, she was largely dependent upon supplies from abroad, and in order to pay for these it was necessary to export cotton or tobacco, almost the only articles she produced which were wanted in Europe. The importance to the United States of maintaining the blockade will readily be seen. The Confederate states, assuming the position of an independent power, formally declared war against the United States in April, and war was actually begun.



CONFEDERATE FLAG.

304. The Two Sections compared. (1861.) — It will be well to review briefly the condition of the whole country, and also to compare the two sections now arrayed against each other, about to enter the conflict. By the census of 1860 the population was found to have increased more than one-third over that of 1850. In material interests, railroads showed the most striking increase, there being a total of about 30,000 miles against 7500 in 1850. In shipping, every country except Great Britain was surpassed, while in agriculture the lead was taken, the cotton crop alone being estimated at 5,000,000 bales of 400 pounds each. Manufactures were daily increasing, and the country, as a whole, was a hive of industry.

the action ratified by an untrammelled popular vote. Virginia and Tennessee were both in the possession of the Confederate troops when the vote was *taken in those states,* and no vote at all was taken in the others.

But a careful examination would show that the increase in population and in wealth was very largely in the free states; and while in them there was a variety of interests, such as farming, manufactures, fishing, transportation, and commerce, in the slave states the cultivation of cotton and tobacco, but chiefly the former wherever practicable, was followed, often to the exclusion of other crops. As a result, a very large proportion of supplies of nearly every kind came from the North, and even the cotton and tobacco of the South were exported in ships belonging to the North. But the southern leaders were fully impressed with the belief that they held control of the country through cotton, which, if the North could do without, England and the continental nations would insist upon having, and so would interfere in case of any quarrels between the North and the South.

305. Comparison of the Sections continued. (1861.) — During the last ten years Minnesota and Oregon had been admitted as free states, and Kansas was ready to come in at any moment. Thus the control of the Senate had been hopelessly lost to the slave states. The population of the free states was 19,128,418; of the slave states, 12,315,372; but a relatively large proportion of the latter was in the border states, and south of these, with the exception of New Orleans, there was no large city. If Maryland and Delaware were taken out, the number of manufacturing establishments was insignificant, while the statistics of wealth showed that by far the greater part of the capital of the country was held in the free states. (Appendix vii.)

Each section underestimated the patriotism, the endurance, the bravery, and the intelligence of the other. The South thought that the North was absorbed in money-getting, *and would sacrifice* anything rather than lose its dollars;

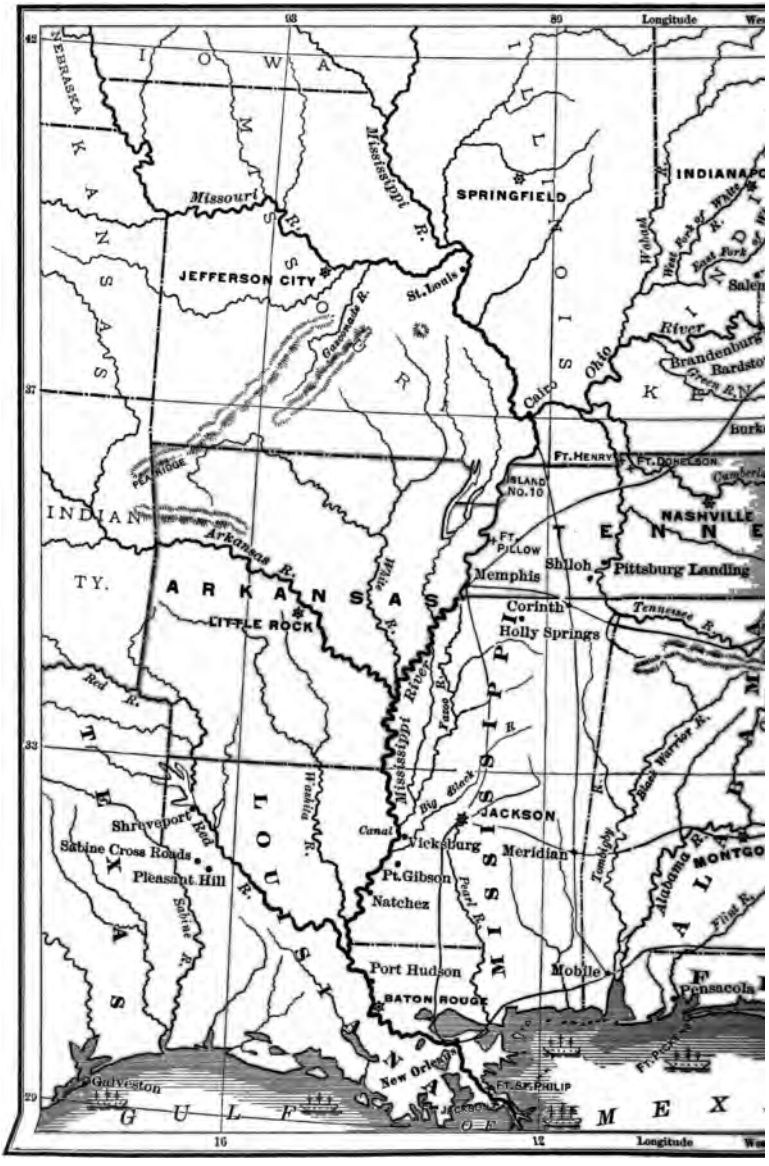
and that if the men of the North did fight, the Southerners would more than be a match for them; it was also thought that very many in the North sympathized with the South. On the other hand, the North thought the South only meant to bluster and threaten; and, notwithstanding all the lessons of past years, northern men did not comprehend how firmly the doctrine of state sovereignty was fixed in the southern hearts, nor did they appreciate the deep affection Southerners felt for their native states, which would make even the large class of non-slaveholders resent any invasion of their soil.

306. The Territory and Advantages of the South. (1861.) — The seceded states stretched from the Atlantic to the extreme western point of Texas, and, with the exception of Virginia, from nearly the line of 36° 30′ to the Gulf of Mexico. Their territory comprised about 800,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 9,000,000, including 3,500,000 slaves; their northern line was over 2000 miles, and their coast line over 3000 miles in length. In spite of this vast expanse of territory and large population, the resources of the North were far greater, and if other nations did not interfere, there was almost everything except experience on the side of the North. But few in North or South anticipated the magnitude of the impending struggle, or understood what principles were involved.

In some respects the people of the South had the advantage; for, acting on the defensive, they needed fewer men; while the North not only had to attack, but also to hold the places which might be taken. Many of the ablest officers of the United States Army in 1860 were southern men. Such were Generals Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard. In fact, almost all the officers of any note in the southern army had been educated at West

Point, but resigned when their states seceded, and joined the southern forces. A large part of the military supplies in the country had been stored in southern forts, ready for use. Again, the South could send all her best fighting men to the front, as she had slaves to work on the plantations, and to perform the manual labor required in the country. Several of these advantages were only temporary, but they gave the South a good start. On the other hand, the South had no navy, — a most serious lack, — nor had she merchant vessels which could be pressed into service, nor had she mechanics or shipyards for the rapid construction of vessels. The North, on account of possessing in these respects just what the South lacked, was able almost immediately to establish a blockade of the southern ports, to the very great disadvantage of the South.

307. "On to Richmond"; Bull Run. (1861.) — Three days before the people of Virginia were to vote upon the question of secession, the capital of the Confederate States was moved from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia. Immediately the cry in the North was "On to Richmond." General Winfield Scott, who was in command of the United States army, was opposed to any forward movement with raw troops, especially with men who had only enlisted for three months. But the cry of the newspapers and the people at large could not be wholly ignored, and so preparations were made for an advance towards Richmond. It was already clear that the battle-ground of the struggle was to be, for the most part, in the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. The Confederate line, beginning at Fortress Monroe on the Chesapeake Bay, extended along the Potomac to Harper's Ferry. Troops had also been sent to *the northern* border of Tennessee and Kentucky and Missouri.


93
89
Longitude
42
37
33
29
16
12
Longitude
I O W A
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
INDIAN TY.
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
TEXAS
GULF OF MEXICO
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Wabash R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Tombigby R.
Alabama R.
Pearl R.
Big Black R.
Yazoo R.
Black Warrior R.
Pascagoula R.
Sabine R.
Wabash R.
White R.
Green R.
Barren R.
Salem
Brandenburg
Bardstown
Burkesville
Cumberland Gap
SPRINGFIELD
JEFFERSON CITY
St. Louis
Cairo
FT. HENRY
FT. DONELSON
ISLAND NO. 10
NASHVILLE
FT. PILLOW
Memphis
Shiloh
Pittsburg Landing
Corinth
Holly Springs
LITTLE ROCK
Canal
Vicksburg
JACKSON
Meridian
Shreveport
Sabine Cross Roads
Pleasant Hill
Pt. Gibson
Natchez
Port Hudson
BATON ROUGE
Mobile
Pensacola
Galveston
New Orleans
FT. ST. PHILIP
FT. JACKSON


REFERENCE MAP
FOR THE
CIVIL WAR, 1861-65.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
EXPLANATION:
Early Seceding States, thus YELLOW
Later Seceding States, thus GREEN
Blockading Vessels, thus
PENNSYLVANIA
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Greenwich
from Washington
HARRISBURG
Philadelphia
TRENTON
NEW JERSEY
WASHINGTON
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Baltimore
Chesapeake Bay
Delaware Bay
Pittsburg
Steubenville
Wheeling
Zanesville
Eagleport
Jackson
Salineville
Chambersburg
Gettysburg
Frederick
Sharpsburg
Harper's Ferry
Manassas
Fredericksburg
Chancellorsville
Staunton
Lynchburg
RICHMOND
Appomattox C.H.
Petersburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Yorktown
James R.
Nottoway R.
Roanoke R.
Roanoke I.
Greensboro
RALEIGH
Goldsboro
Cape Hatteras
Hatteras Inlet
Charlotte
Fayetteville
New Bern
Wilmington
Cape Fear
Fort Fisher
Athens
COLUMBIA
Augusta
Charleston
Beaufort
Fort Sumter
Savannah
Fort Pulaski
Fort Royal
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Cedar Keys
TALLAHASSEE
Sherman's March
Big Sandy R.
Kanawha R.
Ohio River
Morgan's Raid
Potomac R.
Rappahannock R.
Rapidan R.
Pamunkey R.
Chickahominy R.
Appomattox R.
Dan R.
Yadkin R.
Catawba R.
Broad R.
Pedee R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Ogeechee R.
Altamaha R.
Ocmulgee R.
St. Mary's R.
Suwanee R.
Apalachicola R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Tallahassee
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Milledgeville
Columbus
Montgomery
Mobile
Cincinnati
Louisville
Nashville
Chattanooga
Knoxville
Lexington
Frankfort
Kentucky
Tennessee
Alabama
Mississippi
Louisiana
Texas
Arkansas
Missouri
Illinois
Indiana
Ohio

The Confederates had also fortified numerous places on the Mississippi, as well as points on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and were building forts and defences of every kind along the coast. The success of United States troops in some skirmishes in the mountains of West Virginia gave an undue confidence to the northern people, and even Secretary Seward said that the war would be ended in ninety days. The result of this pressure to advance was the first battle of Bull Run, known in the South as Manassas, fought about thirty miles southwest of Washington. Contrary to the general opinion at the time, it appears to have been a well-planned, well-executed battle, until the arrival of reinforcements for the Confederates at a moment opportune for their cause gave them the day, and the Union defeat soon became a rout. So severely had the victors suffered that they did not attempt to follow up their advantage. Johnston, the Confederate general, said "The Confederate army was more disorganized by victory than the United States by defeat." The ignorance of the true character of the war, shown by the United States troops, is seen from General McDowell's words: "They stopped [on the way to Bull Run] every moment to pick blackberries or get water; they would not keep in the ranks, order as much as you pleased."

308. Importance of Bull Run. (1861.) — The importance of the battle of Bull Run was twofold: first, in its effect upon the North; and second, in its effect upon Europe. The people of the North, at first surprised and then dismayed, recognized that the conflict was to be no child's play, or even a "ninety days' campaign," and so made preparations with dogged earnestness for "three years or the war." The European governments were led to believe that the battle indicated superiority in the generalship and fighting qualities

of the Confederates, and that ultimate victory would be with them. The consequence was that, with the exception of Russia, the European governments directly and indirectly favored the South as far as was practicable with a professed neutrality. This was specially the case with England and France.

309. McClellan; Army of the Potomac; the West. (1861.) — George B. McClellan, who had been prominent in the skirmishing in western Virginia, was called to Washington with the concurrence of General Scott, to command what now had become the "Army of the Potomac." General McClellan had been educated at West Point, had seen service in the Mexican War, but above all had been successful in Virginia, so "Little Mac the soldiers' pride" was believed by the northern army and people to be the one man who could bring success to the Union army. For the next eight or nine months McClellan did little else than drill and organize armies; the South did the same, and for the rest of the year no general engagement took place near Washington. In the West, under Generals Lyon, Frémont, and Halleck, the Confederate forces were gradually driven out of Missouri, and that state lost to the Confederacy.

310. Northern Plans for the Campaign. (1861.) — It was clear to President Lincoln and his advisers that in order to insure success it would be necessary (1) to hold the line of the Potomac, and, if possible, take Richmond; (2) to open the Mississippi to the sea, thus dividing the Confederacy; and (3) to maintain a close blockade of the seaports, thus cutting off from the South any supplies from abroad. The United States cruisers had done what they could to make effective the blockade proclaimed by President Lincoln, but they were frequently driven off by stress of weather, and vessels meanwhile would steal in and out. If it were pos-

sible to capture some of the ports, it would make the blockade much more effective and much easier. Of all the forts on the seacoast from Virginia to the Rio Grande, the United States held only two, Fortress Monroe at the mouth of the James, and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, Florida. Fort Pickens was retained by a stratagem similar to that of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, but which, unlike his, was successful. In the summer of 1861 a naval expedition was fitted out by the United States, which took Hatteras Inlet and the forts defending it. Later another expedition took Port Royal, South Carolina, and a number of the islands on the coast, also an island near the mouth of the Mississippi. These places not only lessened the opportunities for running the blockade, but became depots of supplies for the Union fleets, and also points from which to make attacks.

311. Mason and Slidell. (1861.) — One of the most important incidents of the whole struggle took place during the fall of this year (1861). As has been seen, it was essential for the success of the Confederacy that the government should obtain supplies from abroad, and, in order to do this, the recognition of the Confederacy by European governments as an independent nation would be of incalculable assistance. Accordingly, four envoys were sent to Europe. Escaping the blockade, they reached Cuba, and there took passage in the British vessel *Trent*, for England. On November 8, Captain Charles Wilkes, commanding the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, stopped the *Trent* near the Bahamas, and took out the Confederate envoys, James M. Mason and John Slidell, with their two companions, and brought them to Boston, where they were confined in Fort Warren. On receipt of this news both countries were thrown into great

excitement. Great Britain sent war supplies and troops to Canada, and in very blunt language demanded the return of the commissioners and a suitable apology for the offence. In America the act of Captain Wilkes was loudly applauded, the House of Representatives passed a resolution that the thanks of the Congress were due to him, and that he deserved a gold medal for his conduct. For a short time it seemed as if war between England and the United States was inevitable. But the United States had always opposed this right of search, and not to return the prisoners was to reverse the whole previous policy of the government and to disavow its most cherished principles. The prisoners were accordingly given up to the British government. Secretary Seward also took occasion to say that Captain Wilkes had acted entirely upon his own responsibility in the matter, and without direction from the government. The people of the North, however, felt that England had been unnecessarily rude, and much hard feeling was the result.[1]

312. Condition of Affairs in the South and in the North. (January, 1862.) — By the close of the year it was evident that the struggle would be long and severe. While the Confederates had been generally successful in actual conflict, their operations had been little more than defensive. They had failed to secure the accession of Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, or to gain any permanent foothold north of the Potomac, and the city of Washington was farther beyond their reach than ever. Though recognized as belligerents, their government had not been acknowledged by the European powers. Their whole coast had been fairly well blockaded, and at least three important points on it had been

[1] Captain Wilkes had been the commander of the well-known exploring expedition which had been sent out by the United States to visit the *southern seas and* Antarctic Ocean in 1838-1842.

captured, while all along their northern border large armies of Federal troops, inexperienced, indeed, but daily increasing in efficiency, were preventing invasion, and were threatening an attack as soon as they were sufficiently drilled. Without commerce, and almost without manufactures, the South was not in a good condition to sustain a long war. Skilful officers, a brave army, and a united people are not the only essentials to success. On the other hand, the Union states were having no experience of actual warfare. Everything with them was going on much as usual; commerce and manufactures were perhaps even more active than formerly. A large army and navy had been raised with but little difficulty. The South was almost surrounded by fleets and armies, and the North, instead of being disheartened by the want of success in the field, was only nerving itself for greater efforts and profiting by its mistakes. The Congress at Washington, in which the war party had an overwhelming majority, voted men and money without hesitation, and passed acts approving and legalizing the orders of President Lincoln issued since March 4. In the border states the writ of *habeas corpus* had been suspended, and the arrests of men suspected of aiding and abetting the Confederacy were frequent. Distasteful as this was to very many, it was believed to be a military necessity, for the South had many friends who did their best to send supplies and information across the lines. Washington was full of southern sympathizers, and many in the employment of the government itself furnished information of the greatest value to the southern cause.

313. Fighting in the West; General Grant. (1862.) — The first fighting of the year 1862 was in the West. The Confederates had built two forts in northern Tennessee to pro-

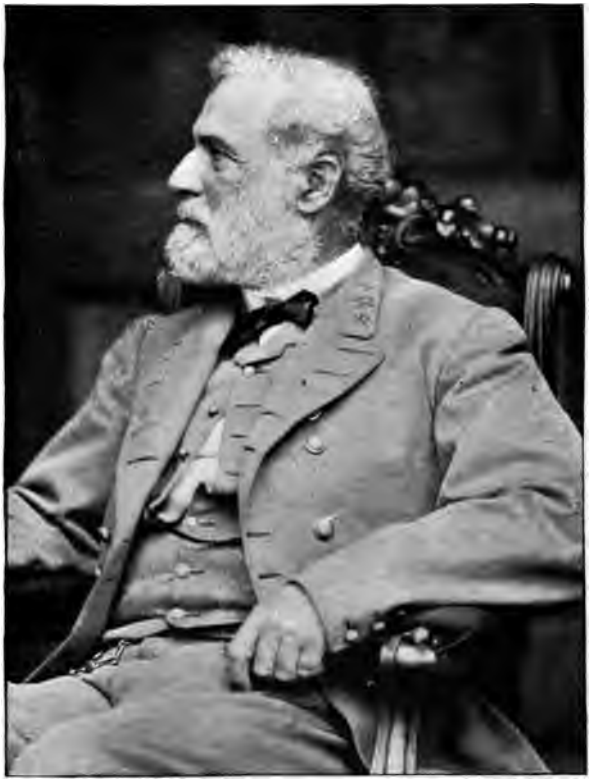
tect that state from invasion: Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. To reduce these places, General Ulysses S. Grant (p. 343), who had already shown military ability, was to co-operate with Commodore A. H. Foote, who was to ascend the river with a fleet of gunboats. Before Grant could reach Fort Henry it had surrendered to the gunboats, and the combined forces proceeded against Fort Donelson. After three days' fighting the commander asked what terms would be given, to which Grant replied: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." The surrender was a necessity, and by it about 15,000 prisoners and a large quantity of arms fell into the hands of the Union army. This was the first great victory on the Union side and was an important one, for it compelled the Confederates to abandon Kentucky, and also to leave nearly the whole of the state of Tennessee in the control of the Union forces. This victory brought Grant before the country as an able and promising officer. Two months later, April 6, Grant was attacked at Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, on the Tennessee, near the southern boundary of the state, by General Albert Sidney Johnston, and might possibly have been defeated but for the arrival of General Buell with reinforcements. The Confederates retired with the loss of their general killed, and over 10,000 men killed, wounded, and missing. On the Union side the losses were even greater in men, and no attempt was made at an immediate pursuit. It was a dearly bought victory. The next day Island No. 10 on the Mississippi, surrendered to Commodore Foote, which opened the river to the United States forces as far as Fort Pillow.[1]

[1] The islands in the Mississippi, beginning at the mouth of the Ohio and *going southward*, were numbered 1, 2, 3, and so on.

314. Monitor and Merrimac; Farragut takes New Orleans. (1862.) — So far the advantage in the West had been decidedly in the favor of the Union forces. At the time of the capture of the navy-yard at Norfolk, Virginia, the frigate *Merrimac* had been taken, after having been partly burnt, and then had been turned, by the Confederates, into an ironclad ship, with a beak to run into an enemy's vessel. Ironclads were not new, but they had never been tried in actual warfare. The *Merrimac*, or *Virginia*, as she was now called, being all ready for trial, sailed out of Norfolk Harbor, March 8, 1862. In Hampton Roads, near by, were four or five of the best ships of war in the United States navy. These the new sea-monster, for such she seemed to be, attacked; and though they literally rained shot and shell on her, they could make no impression upon her iron sides. She ran into the *Cumberland* and sunk her. The others would have met a similar fate had not night come on, when the *Merrimac* returned to Norfolk. The news spread dismay in the North. There seemed nothing to prevent the terrible vessel from going to Baltimore, Washington, or any of the northern seaports, which would be utterly at her mercy. About two hours after the *Merrimac* had left Hampton Roads for the night, a strange little craft, named the *Monitor*, arrived from New York. Built from the design of John Ericsson, the inventor of the steam propeller (sect. 234), she seemed altogether unable to cope with so formidable an antagonist, but the next day, after a fight of four hours, the *Merrimac* retired to Norfolk, and did no more damage; she was destroyed by the Confederates when they abandoned Norfolk later in the war. This short conflict revolutionized naval warfare the world over. Wooden vessels were seen to be helpless against the ironclads, and every maritime nation began to build ironclads of one kind or another. The United

States as soon as possible added a number of monitors, as they were called, to its navy. The joy of the North at the result of this action was proportional to its previous dismay. During the spring of this year several points on the coast were captured until all the good ports of the Atlantic, except Savannah, Charleston, and Wilmington, North Carolina, were held by the Union forces. In February an expedition, commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler and Commodore David G. Farragut, sailed from Chesapeake Bay to try to take New Orleans. Farragut, a native of Tennessee, was a resident of Virginia at the outbreak of the war, but refused to follow his state. He had entered the navy in 1812, and was therefore a veteran in the service. After spending a week in the vain endeavor to capture the forts which had been erected to defend the approach to New Orleans by the river, he determined to push past them. After a desperate struggle he succeeded, and two days later (April 25) New Orleans surrendered, a great loss to the Confederacy. The forts below the city soon surrendered also. General Butler remained in charge of New Orleans, but the fleet went up the Mississippi, and soon the whole river, with the exception of Vicksburg and one or two other points, was open to the Union forces.

315. Peninsular Campaign; General R. E. Lee. (1862.) — In Virginia the war was prosecuted almost without intermission. The Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, had been drilled and organized till the authorities at Washington and the people at large thought it was high time to be moving forward. After much consultation and urging, McClellan determined to move his army down the Potomac, and approach Richmond from the southeast. This was accordingly done, leaving McDowell near Fredericksburg to protect *Washington,* and leaving also a force in the Shenandoah



ROBERT E. LEE.

valley under Banks. The Confederate army was commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston. McClellan moved his army down the Chesapeake on transports. Landing near the mouth of the James River, he proceeded to attack Yorktown. It took a month to capture this place, and meanwhile Johnston was getting ready to repel an attack upon Richmond. After taking Yorktown, McClellan pushed on towards Richmond, and succeeded in getting within a few miles of it. Then the Chickahominy, a small stream, but swollen by sudden rains, divided his forces. Johnston at once attacked the weaker division of McClellan's army, and, though Johnston was wounded and forced to retire, he had succeeded in delaying McClellan. Meanwhile Jackson, who had been sent to attack Banks, drove him down the valley towards Washington, so frightening the authorities that McDowell was hastily recalled to defend the city. The wounded Johnston was succeeded by General Robert E. Lee. Lee, a native of Virginia, was born in 1807, and was graduated from West Point in 1829. He was in the Mexican War, was superintendent of West Point 1852–1855, and was the captain of the forces which captured John Brown at Harper's Ferry (sect. 293). Though not at first a secessionist, he had resigned his commission in the United States Army when it was clear that Virginia would certainly go with the South, and by his remarkable military skill did more than any one man to strengthen the Confederacy. Many military critics have considered him to be the ablest general on either side.

316. Failure to take Richmond; Bull Run; Antietam. (1862.) — Jackson having disposed of Banks, and McDowell being

[1] After the war Lee became President of Washington and Lee University, *Lexington, Virginia,* which post he held until his death in 1870.

held back to protect Washington, Lee was ready to attack McClellan. This he did, and, after seven days' almost continuous fighting, forced him back to the James River. Here Lee was repulsed, but the attempt to take Richmond was a failure. Lee, who had recalled General Thomas J. Jackson's division from the valley, determined to attack Pope, who commanded the Union forces near Washington. The armies met on the old field of Bull Run, and Pope was defeated.



"STONEWALL" JACKSON.

McClellan was hastily called back from the Peninsula to protect Washington. This was just what Lee wished, as it gave him an opportunity, now that Richmond was temporarily safe, to make further advance movements, or even to invade the North. By September (1862) the two armies occupied about the same positions as early in the year, and apparently nothing had been gained by either side. Lee and Jackson were as active and ready as McClellan was slow and cautious. Owing to the firmness with which Jackson had resisted assaults at the first battle of Bull Run, he was nicknamed "Stonewall" Jackson, by which sobriquet he is universally known. The Confederates now thought it a good time to attempt an invasion of the North, and the first thing that the North heard was that Lee had crossed the Potomac above Washington, had taken Frederick, Maryland, and was preparing to move on Baltimore or Philadelphia. McClellan followed, forcing Lee *to turn more to* the west. Meantime, Harper's Ferry with

11,000 men, besides stores, fell into the Confederate hands. The armies met near Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek, Maryland, and after a severe battle (September 17), Lee was forced to retire across the Potomac after a loss on each side of over 12,000 men. Lee had been much disappointed in meeting with so little sympathy in Maryland. McClellan did not follow up the retreating army, and, in consequence of this and other seeming or real dilatoriness, was removed from the command, and did not have any further active duty assigned him during the war.

317. Fredericksburg; Murfreesboro. (1862.) — The command of the Army of the Potomac was given to General Ambrose E. Burnside. If McClellan was over-cautious, Burnside was rash. Attempting to reach Richmond by the way of the Rappahannock and Fredericksburg, his army was driven back and defeated (December 13), with a terrible loss of life. The unfortunate Army of the Potomac changed commanders again, with the appointment of General Joseph Hooker.

In the West the Union forces had been gradually advancing, and had occupied Corinth in northern Mississippi. Though the Confederates had made a few successful raids into Tennessee and Kentucky, the result of the year's campaign was decidedly against them. On the very last day of the year, 1862, a severe battle had been fought at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, between Rosecrans, the Union general, and Braxton Bragg, the Confederate, resulting in the retreat of Bragg, after a heavy loss on both sides.

318. Slavery; "Contraband." (1861.) — At the beginning of the war there was no disposition to interfere with slavery. Indeed, President Lincoln in his inaugural said, quoting

from one of his own campaign speeches, "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." McClellan, in West Virginia, when beginning hostilities, issued a proclamation, in which, addressing those who were loyal to the United States, he said, "Not only will we abstain from all such interference with your slaves, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand crush any attempt at insurrection on their part." All the Union generals did not hold these views. In May, 1861, some fugitive slaves having come into the camp of General Butler at Fortress Monroe, he had refused to give them up to their owner, who, commanding the Confederate forces near by, asked by a flag of truce that they should be returned to him under the fugitive slave law. Butler replied that slaves were contraband of war, as they could be used in working on fortifications and in other ways. This name of "Contraband" was applied to the ex-slaves for a long time.

319. Slavery; Emancipation Proclamation. (1861–1863.) — In August, 1861, General John C. Frémont, who had been commissioned as major-general and sent to Missouri, issued a proclamation, declaring that all citizens who should take up arms against the United States, or assist its enemies, should have their property confiscated and "their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men." This order, so far as it related to the slaves, was annulled by the President. In South Carolina General Hunter, in May, 1862, in a military order, said, "Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three states, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, heretofore held as *slaves*, are therefore declared forever free." He also *mustered a regiment* of negroes into the service. The President

annulled the proclamation of Hunter, as dealing with questions beyond the authority of "commanders in the field" to decide. He also, at the same time, in his proclamation besought the people to embrace the offer of compensated emancipation, proposed by the United States Congress. Nevertheless, the feeling in the North, against slavery anywhere, was rapidly growing. Lincoln never pressed his views much in advance of public opinion. He bided his time until he thought the hour had come, and then he spoke or acted. He had already considered the subject carefully, and was only waiting a suitable time to speak. This seemed to be after the battle of Antietam.

320. Emancipation a War Measure; Effect. (1863–1865.)— On the 22d of September, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, stating that on the first day of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." Those portions were designated which were not under the control of the Union government, for the President did not claim the power to issue such an order respecting those states which had not seceded. Of course, no notice was taken of this preliminary proclamation by the districts named, and on January 1, 1863, he issued the proclamation of which he had given one hundred days' notice. In this he declared the power was invested in him as "Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," claiming that it was "a fit and necessary war measure." This proclamation ended by saying, "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

This proclamation for the first time officially struck at slavery, and henceforth not only made the war a struggle to maintain the union of the states, but one to eradicate slavery also. Perhaps its greatest effect was abroad, for the long and brave resistance of the South had begun to make the Europeans think that she might succeed after all, and ought, perhaps, to be recognized; but now any recognition of her independence, or any help which might be officially extended to her, would be at least an indirect support to slavery. The most important immediate result was the employment of negroes and fugitive slaves in the armies of the Union. They had already been employed by the Confederates in throwing up embankments, and as teamsters, and for other purposes. The faithfulness of the negroes to their southern masters, particularly on the plantations, where often there were no white men, has scarcely been paralleled in history, and is worthy of great admiration. The enlistment of negroes by the Federal government was resented by the South, and led finally to a cessation of the exchange of prisoners; for as the Confederate authorities naturally refused to exchange any black soldiers or their white officers captured in battle, the United States government refused to exchange at all, being bound to protect equally all who had entered its service. About 180,000 negroes entered the armies of the United States during the war, and their record was a creditable one.

321. Prisoners of War. (1861–1865.) — Of the evils incident to war, the confinement and treatment of prisoners is not the least; and when exchange of prisoners is not practised, or is much restricted, the evils are greatly aggravated. This, true of all wars, was sorrowfully true of the Civil War *in America*. Seldom, if ever, have such heart-rending suffer-

ings been endured, and Andersonville has become almost a synonym for terrible suffering.[1]

322. The Sioux War. (1862.) — To add to the difficulties of the United States, the Sioux Indians in Dakota and western Minnesota revolted in the summer of 1862. They had complained of unjust treatment and non-fulfilment of treaties, all of which was doubtless true; and so, to avenge their wrongs, they fell upon the whites, killing men, women, and children. A detachment from the army soon put an end to this war, and a number of the Indians were tried, found guilty of murder, and hanged. It was another instance of the result of the policy so long pursued by the government towards the red man.

323. Campaign in the West; Vicksburg. (1863.) — In the West and Southwest there were four Union armies. One under Grant, not far from Corinth, Mississippi; one under Rosecrans, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee; one under Banks, in Louisiana; and one under Schofield, in Arkansas. The main object of all these armies was to open the Mississippi River, and thus divide the Confederacy. Vicksburg and Port Hudson were still held by the Confederates, and were very strong points. Leaving the neighborhood of Corinth, Grant, with the coöperation of gunboats and transports, tried plan after plan in order to defeat the Confederate forces, and to reduce Vicksburg, but again and again his efforts were unsuccessful. He then occupied the country east of the city, and, having taken Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, he made several assaults upon the fortifications, but in vain.

[1] "Of that camp, the Confederate inspector-general spoke as a place of horrors beyond description."

He now settled down to a regular siege of the place after driving away a Confederate army that was endeavoring to force its way, under J. E. Johnston, to the relief of Vicksburg. In these movements there was manifested a want of harmony between Johnston commanding the southern army in the field, and Pemberton who was shut up in the city.

324. Chancellorsville; Lee invades Pennsylvania. (1863.) — In the East, Hooker (sect. 318) had been busy in reorganizing the Army of the Potomac with success. At last he determined to approach Richmond over the direct route by way of the Rappahannock. Lee met him at a small place called Chancellorsville; and Hooker was defeated (May 2, 3, 1863), with a loss of about 17,000 men. On the Confederate side the loss in numbers was not so great; but they lost their great soldier "Stonewall" Jackson, who was shot by his own men in the dusk of the evening, under the supposition that he and his staff were enemies. Lee now resolved on a second invasion of the North, and in fact it was forced upon him by public opinion. His army consisted of 73,000 veteran troops, and with these he moved towards the Shenandoah valley. Hooker at first retreated towards Washington to defend it from an attack; but when Lee's movements were comprehended, he likewise made for Pennsylvania. Lee crossed the Potomac, and pushed across Maryland. Entering Pennsylvania, he captured Chambersburg. A part of his force got as far east as York, and his cavalry were within sight of Harrisburg itself. The North was with good reason frightened; the militia were hastily called out, and hurried forward to protect Philadelphia and Harrisburg and to help to swell the army. This was in June. Meanwhile Hooker, annoyed by the orders of General Halleck at Washing-

ton, on the 27th asked to be relieved of the command of the army.

325. Gettysburg. (1863.) — He was succeeded by General George G. Meade, of Pennsylvania. General Meade was a graduate of West Point, had served in the Mexican War, and had been in the Army of the Potomac since its organization. He retained his position until the close of the war. A steady officer who would run few risks, he conducted the remainder of the campaign in his own way. As Lee was on his way eastward, the two armies met at Gettysburg. A dreadful battle followed, lasting three days (July 1, 2, 3), — no field was more stubbornly contested; but Lee was defeated and forced to retreat, with a loss of about 23,000, the same as that of the Union army; 46,000, about one-third of the men engaged in the conflict, were killed, wounded, or missing. Lee retreated across the Potomac, and no further attempt was made to invade the North. It was, indeed, out of the question; all that he could do was to resist attacks and prolong the struggle. Meade followed the Confederates slowly until both armies were not far from the place from which they had started. Gettysburg, the greatest battle on American soil, was also the turning-point of the war.

326. Vicksburg; Chattanooga. (1863.) — Meanwhile, Grant had been besieging Vicksburg until it had been forced to surrender the day after the battle of Gettysburg, the 4th of July, and 32,000 men were taken prisoners. A few days later Port Hudson surrendered to Banks, thus opening the Mississippi to its mouth. The Confederates still held the strong position of Chattanooga, which commanded eastern Tennessee and the entrance to Georgia. By skilful manœuvring Rosecrans caused Bragg to retire until Chattanooga

was evacuated, when Rosecrans occupied it at once; but later Bragg, having received reinforcements, attacked Rosecrans and defeated him at the battle of Chickamauga (September 19, 20), where, had it not been for the steadiness of General Thomas, the defeat would have been a rout. As it was, each army lost upwards of 16,000 men, and while Bragg gained the victory, he did not get Chattanooga, which was his object, though he shut up the Union forces in the town and more than once nearly forced a surrender. Grant, by his successes, had become one of the best known generals, and now all the western armies were put under his orders. He came to Chattanooga and took charge, bringing some reinforcements and also the officers whom he had proved in his previous campaign, among them W. T. Sherman. Chattanooga was relieved from a state of siege. Bragg still held strong positions on the hills, and from these Grant determined, if possible, to drive him. In this he was entirely successful, and as part of the battle was fought on the mountain summit above the mists of the valley, it has been known as the "battle above the clouds." Bragg retreated to Dalton, Georgia, and was superseded by Joseph E. Johnston. This happened late in November, 1863, and all was quiet in the West for some time.

327. Morgan's Raid. (1863.) — One of the most striking incidents of this year (1863) was the cavalry raid of the Confederate officer John Morgan. Starting from Tennessee, he passed through Kentucky, his force being increased by sympathizers as he proceeded; capturing one or two towns on the way, he reached the Ohio River, and seizing two steamers, crossed into Indiana; he then turned towards Ohio, and crossed the southern part of the state, going by night through the very outskirts of Cincinnati. Everywhere he

went he plundered and destroyed. He created the greatest alarm, and soon not only were regular troops sent after him, but also almost every one in that part of the country capable of bearing arms joined in the pursuit. Finding the whole country was aroused, he made for the Ohio River, on the banks of which he was finally captured. He was placed in confinement, but managed to escape and get again within the southern lines; his was the most daring of all the raids, and gave the inhabitants of the country through which the troops passed some experience of what war really was.

328. The Blockade; Naval Operations. (1863.) — The navy had not been quiet during the year; the blockade was maintained with vigor, and it became more and more difficult for the "blockade runners," as the vessels were called, to slip into the one or two ports which were not held by the Union forces. An attempt was made by a Union naval force to take Fort Sumter, but it was a failure. Later in the year a naval and military force, under General Quincy A. Gillmore, made a desperate attack, battered Fort Sumter to pieces and took Fort Wagner, one of the outer harbor defences. Shells were thrown into Charleston itself, but the city was not taken. The Confederates built a ram, the *Atlanta*, in the Savannah River; she was similar in build to the *Merrimac*, but on her way to the sea, encountering the monitor *Weehawken*, she was captured after a short action.

329. Destruction of American Shipping by Privateers. (1861–1865.) — The South, from the very first, had expected the European governments to interfere for the sake of getting supplies of cotton, if for nothing else. They also hoped to secure a navy, but the close blockade maintained by the United States prevented any vessels built in the South from getting

to sea. In England, agents of the Confederate government succeeded in having several vessels built, armed, and manned, contrary to international law, which does not permit of fitting out an armed vessel against a friendly power. Charles Francis Adams, the American minister at London, warned the British government of the nature of the vessels and their destination; but for some reason or other, it did not attempt to stop them in time. They were allowed to put to sea, and the result was, that many vessels were captured, and American shipping was almost driven from the ocean, owners of vessels transferring their ships to foreign flags in order to prevent the Confederate privateers from capturing them. By a United States law, no vessel which has been transferred from the American flag can be restored to it except by special act of Congress, and so these vessels were permanently lost to the American marine, which has never regained its former position. This, however, is not wholly due to the depredations of the privateers. The most noted of these privateers were the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, the *Shenandoah*, and the *Florida*. Most of these vessels answered Secretary Seward's description of the *Alabama:* "She was purposely built for war against the United States by British subjects in a British port. . . . When she was ready she was sent . . . and her armament and equipment were sent . . . to a common port outside of the British waters, . . . and she was sent forth on her work of destruction with a crew chiefly of British subjects." The *Alabama* alone took sixty-five vessels, most of which she burned. These captures gave rise to the celebrated "Alabama Claims" and to the Geneva Arbitration (sect. 370). The inability to secure a navy was a serious blow to the Confederacy. Could she have had a navy, the Federal blockade would have been very much more difficult to maintain, and she might have attacked the seaports of the *North also.*

330. Conscription North and South. (1862–1863.) — The novelty of the war had worn off by the summer of 1863, and enlistments for the army were decreasing rapidly; so it was deemed necessary to resort to conscription or a draft. There was much objection to this, especially in the city of New York, and on the 13th of July, 1863, there was a serious riot, and the mob practically had control of affairs for several days. During this time about fifty buildings were burnt, over two million dollars' worth of property destroyed, and a number of lives sacrificed. The mob had a special hatred towards colored people. Several of these were brutally murdered, and among the buildings burned was the Colored Orphans' Asylum; fortunately, there was time to hurry the children out by a back door before the rioters gained access in front. The riot was finally put down by the police, aided by some troops who were hurried from the field of Gettysburg for the purpose. It was estimated that over 1200 of the rioters were killed. Conscription was not directly very successful at the North, but it tended to increase the volunteering, and so far answered the purpose. In the South, conscription had been first resorted to in April, 1862. All men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except those who were mentally or physically unfit for service, were enrolled as liable to be called upon. By the second law, passed February, 1864, all white men between seventeen and fifty were enrolled. There were in the North many exemptions for various reasons. In the South, the exemptions were very much fewer than in the North, and the law was very much more rigorously enforced. There were no substitutes as in the North; for every able-bodied man was himself already a conscript. In the North few, if any, of those who had conscientious scruples against fighting suffered much. In the South many endured much suffering for con-

science' sake. From those enrolled as above, men were chosen to go into the army as needed, by lot. Hence the term "draft."

331. Plans to raise Revenue. (1861.) — The debt of the United States in 1860 was only about $65,000,000. The ordinary revenues of the country were wholly inadequate to support the armies and the navy which had been called into existence, and some new way to raise money had to be devised. The two principal means open to a nation for raising funds are (1) Taxation; (2) Borrowing. The latter involves taxation, but it is not so evident. Up to 1861, the United States chiefly made use of the second plan. At the special session of Congress held in July of the same year, the duties on many articles of import were increased, and later internal taxation was resorted to. Congress also made use of the second means to a large extent. This last can be done in two ways: first, by issuing bonds, agreeing to pay interest on the sum named in the bond at a certain rate per annum; secondly, by issuing bills, similar to bank-bills, promising to pay on demand the sum named in the bill. Congress tried both of these plans. But the expenses of the war increasing more and more, the loans and bills authorized did not suffice. On December 30, 1861, the banks of the country suspended specie payment, as they had done several times before, notably in 1837 (sect. 243). The government was forced to follow their example, and soon neither gold nor silver was to be seen in circulation.

332. "Greenbacks" and Small Notes. (1862.) — People were driven to all sorts of expedients "to make change," and, as in 1837, business firms issued "tokens," and notes *for small amounts* redeemable in sums of one dollar or over;

but the most popular way was to enclose postage stamps in small envelopes, with the amount enclosed written or printed on the outside. But the government soon issued bills of the denominations of fifty cents, twenty-five cents, etc., which met the demand for change. It was plain that something more had to be done. So, early in 1862, Congress authorized the issue of bills of various denominations, which were called, from the color of the backs of the bills, "greenbacks"; these bills were made a legal tender[1] for everything except payment of duties on imports, and of interest on the public debt. It was thought that if the interest on the debt was made payable in coin, the loans would be more readily subscribed to, both at home and abroad, and in order to get the gold coin to do this, duties were required to be paid in gold.

333. "Premium on Gold." (**1862–1879.**) — Though many think differently, there are some who hold that it was a mistaken policy to have issued so much paper money, if it was not an error to issue any. It is so easy to manufacture paper money and put it into circulation, that the temptation to issue it, great at any time, is almost irresistible in times of emergency. Early in 1862 gold began, as it was said, to demand a premium in "greenbacks." In reality it was the paper money which declined and which should have been quoted at a discount, because gold was the standard with which the bills were compared, but it was thought not only more patriotic, but also a matter of policy, to quote gold at a premium rather than bills at a discount. As the payment of the greenbacks in coin depended upon the success of the government in the war, the "premium on gold" was regarded as a sort of thermometer or bulletin by which to estimate

[1] Legal tender is money or currency which the law authorizes a debtor to offer in payment of a debt, and requires the creditor to receive.

the probable result of the conflict. In the early part of 1862 the premium was two per cent; in December it was thirty-three per cent; in December, 1863, notwithstanding the successes of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, it was fifty-one per cent; in June, 1864, the premium was one hundred per cent, making the paper dollar worth but fifty cents in gold. In July, 1864, the premium reached the highest point, one hundred and eighty-five, making the paper dollar worth only about thirty-five cents in gold. From this time the premium gradually declined, until the United States resumed specie payment in 1879, when, of course, the bills were exchangeable for gold at their face value. As it would not do to issue too many bills, large loans were negotiated on as good terms as possible. The large issue of "greenbacks" inflated prices, making the government pay higher rates for everything, thus increasing the debt vastly, besides making the amount of yearly interest to be paid far greater. It is estimated that the debt was increased in this way several hundred millions of dollars. By the end of 1863 the expense of carrying on the war was enormous, the daily cost of the army and navy being nearly $3,000,000, and during the latter part of the next year it was still greater.

334. Finances in the South. (1862–1865.) — In the Confederacy a somewhat similar but worse state of affairs existed. Taxes were laid on almost everything that could be taxed, and notes were issued payable "six months after the ratification of peace with the United States." Bonds were also issued to a large amount. Many of these latter were sold in Europe. As the success of the South became more doubtful these bonds fell in value, until at last they became worthless.[1]

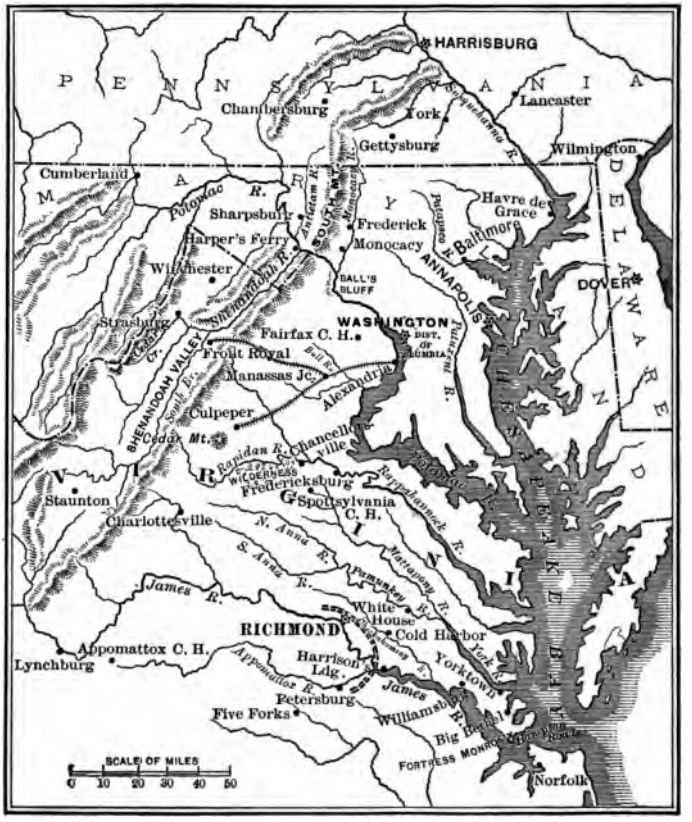
[1] By Amendment XIV. of the Constitution, "debts incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States" are "illegal and void."

The notes also became more and more depreciated, until in some places the curious spectacle was seen of "greenbacks" being accepted by the Confederates in preference to their own currency. Though the advance in prices was great in the North, it was small in comparison with that in the South. Early in May, 1864, the following were some of the prices quoted at Richmond in Confederate money: shoes, $125 per pair; flour, $275 per barrel; bacon, $9 per pound; potatoes, $25 per bushel; butter, $15 per pound. Many of what are considered the necessaries of life were absolutely unobtainable, so close was the blockade of the ports. The suffering in the South for the want of many things was very great, and it fell heavily upon the women and children who had to stay at home. The lack of quinine and other drugs was also severely felt.

335. National Bank Act. (1863.) — The United States Congress passed the National Bank Act in 1863. By its provisions banks could be organized under a national law, and on depositing United States bonds with the United States Treasurer at Washington, could issue notes to the amount of ninety per cent of the par value of the bonds so deposited, these bonds to be held as security for the notes. As the redemption of these notes was certain, they were accepted everywhere, regardless of the place of issue, and formed an admirable circulating medium. A market was also provided for United States bonds, and the interest of the people in the stability of the government was greatly strengthened. Later, a law taxing all currency except national bank notes put an end to currency issued by state banks.

336. Union Armies, East and West. (1863.) — It was evident at the close of the year 1863 that success was on the side of

the Union. In spite of the bravery and endurance of the Confederates, they had steadily lost almost everywhere except in Virginia. Even Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania resulted disastrously. At first sight it seems strange that there should



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be such a difference in the success of the Federal armies of the East and those of the West, but there were good reasons *for it.* *In the first* place, the physical features of the coun-

try were different. In the West the river-courses are mostly north and south, just the direction needed for invading the southern states; and so far from being obstacles, they offered a natural way of approach. In the East the river-courses run southeast and northwest; and so, in order to attack Richmond, they would have to be crossed. In the short distance which intervened between Washington and the capital of the Confederacy there are a dozen or more streams, not large ones, but such as are liable to rise rapidly after rains, — thus admirably fitted to aid a defensive army, and at the same time seriously to interfere with an attacking one. Besides, the soil in eastern Virginia is clay, and much of the country is swamp. There are also many plantations of scrubby and rough woodland, all of which render successful military advance movements exceedingly difficult. It was mainly on account of these reasons that McClellan when in command had determined upon the Peninsular[1] campaign. Had he been more rapid in his movements, it is not unlikely that he would have been successful in taking Richmond, and the whole history of the war been changed. But perhaps a more important reason for the greater success of the western armies was the fact that their generals were left to use their own judgment far more than were their comrades of the Army of the Potomac.

[1] See Sect. 315.

CHAPTER XVI.

CIVIL WAR CONTINUED.

REFERENCES.

Note. — See references for Chap. xv.

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337. Grant placed at the Head of the Armies; Sherman. (**1864.**) — The war had now gone on for two years and a half. The South was rapidly using up her resources and was suffering from lack of men and supplies. But there were not a few in the North who did not see this, who were tired of the war, and did not hesitate to say so. Moreover, it was getting near the time for the Presidential election, and unless there should be some signal success, the war party feared that Lincoln might not be re-elected, and that a compromise might be made with the South. It was evident that a single head for all the armies in the field was needed, a man who should be responsible for the whole plan of operations everywhere. Accordingly, Congress revived the rank of lieutenant-general, which had previously been held only by Washington and Scott. Lincoln at once bestowed it upon the man whom public opinion, as well as military judgment, pointed out as fitted to receive it, and for whom the rank was really created, General Ulysses S. Grant. This was on March 3, 1864. At once the wisdom of the step was made manifest. A plan of connected action was arranged. Grant came East and made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, Meade carrying out his orders. In the West the most important movements were entrusted to General Sherman. William Tecumseh Sherman was born in Ohio, 1820. Educated at West Point, he served in the Mexican



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War, and then entered mercantile life. Entering the service again in May, 1861, he was promoted to a major-generalship.[1]

338. Grant's Plan of Attack. (1864.) — Grant determined to approach Richmond by the direct route, and when all was ready he telegraphed to Sherman to begin his part of the plan of united action. This plan, briefly, was that, while the Army of the Potomac was to attack Richmond, Sherman should move southeastward from Chattanooga towards the sea, thus penetrating the very heart of the Confederacy, and so engaging the Confederate forces in that part of the country that no reinforcements nor supplies could be sent to Lee and his army. The part of the South to be invaded had been entirely free from the actual presence of armies. It was now to experience in a marked degree many of the harshest of war measures. Grant and Sherman were convinced that the Confederacy was a hollow shell, and that vigorous measures could make it collapse. The march was begun simultaneously by Grant and Sherman May 5, 1864. They had the ablest generals of the Confederacy to contend with, — Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston.

339. "On to Richmond"; Early's Raid. (1864.) — Grant, with an army of 120,000 men, nearly double that of Lee, started to attempt what had been the ruin of brave men before him, a Virginia campaign. The Union forces entered the rough country near the Rapidan, known as the "Wilderness," and Lee's 62,000 men were quite a match for Grant's larger num-

[1] When Grant resigned the generalship of the army upon becoming President, Sherman succeeded him, holding the office until his retirement in 1883 on full pay, having reached the age of sixty-three. He was a thorough soldier, and war with him meant war indeed. He himself is reported to *have said,* "War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it." He died in New *York City, 1891.*

ber. For two weeks there was a terrible struggle, and fighting occurred almost every day, with a fearful loss of life. Gradually Lee was forced to move back his lines until Grant reached Cold Harbor, about eight miles from Richmond. A brave but fruitless attack upon Lee's works, in which it is said that 8000 men were shot down in half an hour, convinced Grant that it was useless to attempt to take Richmond from the north. Altogether he had lost in a campaign of a month nearly 60,000 men, and his antagonist half as many. He now determined to cross the James River and attack from the south, hoping also to cut off the railroads which brought supplies from the southern states to Lee's army and to Richmond. Lee resolved to try the plan which had been so successful when McClellan had been in command of the Army of the Potomac, and so sent Early down the Shenandoah valley. Early succeeded in badly scaring the authorities at Washington, and justly so; for, at Monocacy in Maryland, he defeated General Lew Wallace, who courageously faced certain defeat in order to delay Early, a matter of the highest importance. Early then pushed on towards Washington and actually appeared before the defences on the north side of the city, which he might possibly have carried at first had he known how poorly they were manned; he, however, retreated, having captured much during his expedition. One incident of the raid was the taking of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, by one of his commanders, and, on the refusal of the inhabitants to pay $100,000 in gold or $500,000 in "greenbacks," burning the greater part of the town.

340. Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley; Petersburg. (1864.) — After the battle of the "Wilderness," Lee is reported to have said: "At last the Army of the Potomac has a head." Grant, though he sent reinforcements to Washington, was in

no way diverted from his main purpose. But to prevent the occurrence of another raid, he sent General Philip H. Sheridan into the Shenandoah valley and put him in command of the department.

Sheridan was only thirty-four years old, but had shown great ability, and was, perhaps, the best cavalry officer in the Federal army. It was soon apparent that the fertile valley was to have a sadder experience than it had yet known. Grant's orders were that "nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, and stock wanted for the use of your command. Such as cannot be consumed, destroy." The order was thoroughly carried out. Sheridan says in his report, "I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat, hay, and farming implements; over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock; and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep." It was also found that Sheridan was an abler general than his predecessors, and Early was so completely worsted that there were no more "valley raids." The Confederates could not spare men to make another attempt, and the country was so thoroughly ravaged that there was little to invite invasion.

Grant's movements brought him in front of Petersburg, Virginia, and one of the plans of the campaign was to undermine the fortifications and blow them up, thus making a way to enter that city. The mining operation was a success, but the attack was a failure, resulting in a terrible loss of life. Grant, however, succeeded in cutting one of the railroads supplying Lee, and thus greatly inconvenienced him. For the rest of the year there was no general engagement; the two armies continued to watch each other, Grant attacking every now and then, and keeping Lee so busy in defending his long line of intrenchments that he was unable to send any reinforce-

ments, even temporarily, to other parts of the South. The resources of the Confederacy were daily getting less, and it was impossible for Lee to get recruits to fill his ranks, while Grant's resources of men and supplies were abundant. The courage and energy shown by Lee and his army in thus fighting a daily losing game were wonderful.

341. Sherman takes Atlanta; Nashville. (1864.) — Sherman, meanwhile, was performing his part of the plan (sect. 338). Johnston was slowly forced to retreat until he reached Atlanta, Georgia. Several battles were fought, but Sherman kept on. Johnston was only waiting until he got Sherman far enough from his base of supplies to offer battle under circumstances which would be unfavorable to the Union army. Sherman's supplies were brought by a single railroad which he had to defend, and thus the farther he advanced the weaker was his force. Just at this time the Confederate President, partly in answer to the complaints of the people against Johnston's slowness, removed Johnston, replacing him by General J. B. Hood, who had the reputation of being one of the hardest fighters in the Confederate army. The change was a good one for the Union army, which had been able to make but little headway against the cautious policy of Johnston. It was not long before Sherman succeeded in taking Atlanta (September 2). Here everything which would be likely to aid an enemy, such as iron foundries, manufactories, and mills, were destroyed. All this was a great blow to the Confederacy. In the hope of checking Sherman's further advance, the Confederate government ordered Hood to leave Georgia and march towards Nashville, Tennessee, where General George H. Thomas was in command of the Union army. It was hoped that this move would cause Sherman to follow Hood, and that two things would

be brought about: the destruction of the Union forces, and the removal of the seat of war again to Tennessee. But Sherman believed that Thomas could take care of himself, and so, after following Hood for some distance, he came back to Atlanta.

Hood, meantime, pressed on towards Nashville; and after a severe battle with one of the divisions of the Union army, besieged the whole of Thomas's army in the city. The Union general was so slow in attacking the Confederate forces that the patience of the authorities at Washington was almost exhausted, and he was on the point of being relieved of his command, when, being satisfied that all was ready, he sallied forth, attacked Hood's army, and completely routed it (December 15, 16, 1864). So thoroughly was this done that it was never reorganized again. This was an irretrievable loss to the South.

342. Sherman begins his March. (1864.) — When Sherman returned to Atlanta, after his feigned pursuit of Hood, he found himself with no Confederate forces of any strength between him and the sea, nor indeed between him and Virginia. There was now the opportunity to carry out a plan he had formed of marching through Georgia to Savannah, thence to the rear of Lee's army in Virginia, which, thus attacked front and rear, would be compelled to surrender. As it would be practically impossible to move with the quickness required for success, and depend at the same time upon supplies from the North, he resolved to live off the country he passed through. And so, taking with him in his wagons only ten days' provisions, dismissing every weak man, and leaving behind everything which could possibly be spared, with 60,000 troops, on the 15th of November, 1864, he left Atlanta to begin his march to the sea. He cut the telegraph

wires to the north, tore up the tracks, and burnt down the bridges so that no intelligence of his movements or means of approach would be left for Hood to take advantage of in case of his success in encountering Thomas. For nearly six weeks nothing was heard of Sherman or his army.

343. March through Georgia. (1864.) — The route was southeast; the orders were to advance "wherever practicable, by four roads, as nearly parallel as possible. . . . The army will forage liberally on the country during the march; to this end each brigade commander will organize a good and sufficient foraging party, who will gather corn or forage of any kind, meat of any kind, vegetables, corn meal, or whatever is needed by the command, aiming all the time to keep in the wagons at least ten days' provisions. Soldiers must not enter dwellings or commit any trespass; but during a halt or camp, they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, or other vegetables, and to drive in stock in sight of their camp. To corps commanders alone is entrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc. Where the army is unmolested, no destruction of such property should be permitted; but should guerillas or bushwackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants burn bridges, or obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostilities, then army commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of such hostility. As for horses, mules, wagons, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, the cavalry and artillery may appropriate freely and without limit, discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor and industrious, who are usually neutral and friendly. In all foraging the parties engaged will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for maintenance."

344. Savannah abandoned. (1864.) — Such was part of the general order issued by Sherman to his army at the beginning of the enterprise. Its restrictions were carried out as far as practicable; but war is war, and the path of the army, sixty miles wide and three hundred miles in length, was as the track of a tornado or of an army of locusts. Railroads were rendered useless by tearing up the rails, heating them and twisting them like a corkscrew so they could be of no further use as rails; bridges were burnt, buildings demolished. In short, everything which might be of use from a military point of view was taken, rendered useless, or destroyed. There was comparatively little fighting beyond cavalry skirmishing until within a short distance of Savannah. On the 21st of December the Confederate forces evacuated that city, and the Union troops marched in. Sherman had already communicated with the Union gunboats on the river. This was the first news which had been heard of the army since it had left Atlanta. Sherman at once sent a letter to President Lincoln, saying, "I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, also about 25,000 bales of cotton." This reached the President on Christmas eve.

345. The Navy; Mobile; Confederate Cruisers. (1864.) — Meanwhile, the navy had not been idle. The blockade was maintained more closely than ever. An unsuccessful attempt was made to capture Fort Fisher, which guarded the entrance to Wilmington, North Carolina, a great resort for blockade runners. General Banks was sent with a land force, supported by gunboats, up the Red River of Louisiana to attack Shreveport and disperse a Confederate army in that part of the state. This expedition was also a failure, Banks having been defeated at Sabine, and Pleasant Hill. Mobile,

Alabama, had been a place for blockade runners, and was also desirable as a point of attack. While the United States cruisers had been fairly successful in blockading the entrance to the bay, not a few vessels from time to time had slipped in; and it was determined to storm the forts which defended the entrance. This enterprise was entrusted to Admiral Farragut, who, with fourteen wooden vessels and four monitors, forced his way past the forts and the obstructions in the channel into the bay where the iron-clad ram *Tennessee* was disabled and captured. She was the most formidable vessel the Confederates had, and was commanded by Buchanan, who had been commander of the *Merrimac* in her fight with the *Monitor* (sect. 315). Farragut had the aid of the land forces also, to whom the forts soon surrendered. In order to get a clearer view of the operations, the admiral stationed himself in the vessel's shrouds, to which one of the officers insisted on fastening him lest a sudden shock should throw him off, or, being wounded, he should fall into the water. This was August 5, 1864. During this year the Confederate ram *Albemarle* was destroyed in October, in the Roanoke River, by the means of a torpedo; while the *Alabama* was sunk by the United States steam war vessel *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg, France, June 19; the *Georgia* was captured off Lisbon, Portugal, in August; and the *Florida* in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil, in October. This latter capture was illegal, according to international law; and the United States government ordered that the vessel should be returned to Bahia, but before she had actually started she was sunk in Chesapeake Bay.

346. Peace Party; Lincoln renominated. (1864.) — Notwithstanding the successes of the Union forces in 1863 and the continued non-intervention of foreign nations, there was a *party of considerable* size in the North, which was clamoring

for peace. The war had dragged on for nearly four years, without any certain signs of an end; taxes were high; the expenses of keeping up the military and naval establishments enormous; thousands of families had lost one or more members by death on the field, or in the hospital, or in southern prisons. The fact that over 1,000,000 new men had been called for during the past year led many to believe that the Union armies had not been as successful as was reported, and that ultimate triumph was hopeless. Cries of a military despotism were raised, and unconstitutional and arbitrary measures were charged upon the administration. The Republican party had gathered to itself many who had hitherto acted with the Democrats, and for the time the title National Union Party was adopted. A convention was held at Baltimore, June 7, 1864, and President Lincoln was renominated on the first ballot. Andrew Johnson, the one senator from the southern states which seceded who refused to act with his state, and who had afterwards been appointed military governor of his own state, Tennessee, by President Lincoln, was nominated for Vice-President. The platform adopted expressed confidence in the administration, approved the Emancipation Proclamation, the employment of colored troops, and "the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States." A constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, "and the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast," were among the measures favored. In short, the acts of the administration were thoroughly endorsed.

347. Radical and Democratic Conventions. (1864.) — A week previous to the meeting of the Union convention, about 350

persons, representing those who believed that the President was too conservative, met at Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated General John C. Frémont of California and John Cochrane of New York. Their platform in essential points differed little from that adopted at Baltimore, except in declaring "that the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice." The feelings of others was expressed by Wendell Phillips, who wrote, "The administration, therefore, I regard as a civil and military failure, and its avowed policy ruinous to the North in every point of view."

The Democratic convention met in Chicago, August 29, and nominated General George B. McClellan of New Jersey and George H. Pendleton of Ohio. The platform declared "that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal union of the states." Various acts of the government were declared to be "a shameful violation of the Constitution," and it was charged, among other things, "that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution . . . [is] calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed." McClellan in his letter of acceptance almost repudiated the platform, and could hardly do otherwise, as he himself had done many of the things of which it specially complained.

348. Political State of the North; Lincoln re-elected. (1864.) —*In September* Frémont and Cochrane withdrew from the

contest, lest a division among the Republicans might elect the Democratic candidate. Frémont was careful to make this clear in his letter by saying, "I consider his [Mr. Lincoln's] administration has been politically, militarily, and financially a failure, and that its necessary continuance is a cause of regret for the country." There was much to discourage the Union party. General Grant had been put in control of all the armies and had fixed his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac. Still, though there had been many battles and a terrible loss of life, many thought there had not been enough gained to make the capture of Richmond any more likely. Very many of those who would support the re-election of the President were in the armies, and it was possible that such states as New York and Pennsylvania might be carried by the opposition. The destruction of the *Alabama*, the successes of Sherman in Northern Georgia, the capture of Atlanta only a day or two after the Democratic convention had pronounced the war a failure; and besides the arrangements by which the votes of the volunteer soldiers in the armies could be counted, the withdrawal of Frémont, the conviction of many that it would be a bad policy to change leaders while the war questions were unsettled, and also the recognition by many of the real greatness of Lincoln, — all these influences combined produced such an effect, that at the election in November, Lincoln and Johnson received a popular majority of over 400,000, exclusive of the army vote,[1] and 212 electoral votes to 21 for the Democratic candidates. Every state not in the Confederacy had given its vote to Lincoln except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky.

[1] The majority for Lincoln in the army vote was over 80,000, which brought up his majority to nearly 500,000.

349. Admission of West Virginia and Nevada. (1863, 1864.) — In 1863, forty-eight of the western counties of Virginia, whose inhabitants objected to being carried into secession, were admitted into the Union as the state of West Virginia. There were few slaves in these counties, and the interests of the people were mining and manufacturing rather than agricultural. The Constitution (Art. IV., sect. 3) requires the consent of the legislature of the state concerned if a new state is to be formed within its jurisdiction; and Congress practically decided that the state of Virginia consisted of the part under the control of that government which was in sympathy with the United States authority; so the people of what is now West Virginia did little more than ask their own consent. In October, 1864, the territory of Nevada, with the addition of a small part of Arizona, was admitted as a state. Almost the only large interest in this state is that of mining silver, and subsequent events show it would have been wiser to delay admission to the Union, but the enormous output of the mines, it was expected, would attract many settlers, and this expectation and supposed political expediency carried the day.[1]

350. Charleston taken; Sherman marches Northward. (1865.) — Sherman with his veteran troops left Savannah (sect. 344) February 1, 1865, on his northern march. Owing to the numerous rivers and the many swamps along the coast, he struck directly for Columbia, South Carolina. On the 17th he entered the city, and a large part of it was burnt.

[1] Nevada has an experience, unique among the states of the Union, of suffering a loss in her population. This in 1870 was 42,491; in 1880, 62,266; in 1890, 45,761. This loss is due to the decline in mining interests, resulting in part from the failure of many mines and from the unprofitableness and difficulty of working mines at great depths. If this decline should be continued, an interesting question will be presented to the country for solution.

Whether the fires were started by the Confederate troops as they went out of the town, or by the Union troops as they came in, has never been shown. Each side charged the other with the action. Simultaneously with the taking of Columbia, Charleston was evacuated by the Confederates, and the Union troops took possession. Other Confederate garrisons followed this example, and the troops thus gathered together, with the remnant of Hood's army (sect. 341) were, in answer to public demand at the South, placed under the leadership of General Joseph E. Johnston. Sherman's northward march was in reality much more hazardous than that through Georgia. The country was more difficult to march through, supplies were less sure, and above all there was an opposing general, who, if not strong enough to risk an open battle, was quite strong enough to make the advance in the highest degree dangerous, and who was ever on the alert to take advantage of the slightest error which his antagonist might commit. By the time Sherman approached Goldsboro, North Carolina, Johnston felt able to risk an attack which was made with great vigor; he was, however, repelled, and Sherman reached Goldsboro, where he received reinforcements by way of Wilmington, which had fallen into Union hands in January. Both armies now halted, waiting for further developments in Virginia.

351. Chief Justice Chase; Peace Negotiations. (1864, 1865.) — In June, 1864, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned, and W. P. Fessenden was appointed to fill his place. In October of the same year Chief Justice Taney died, and President Lincoln nominated Ex-Secretary Chase as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and he was confirmed by the Senate. During 1864 and the early part of 1865 there had been several informal attempts both North and South to

bring about a cessation of hostilities which might lead to peace. The most important of these was in February, 1865, when Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederate States, and two companions, by previous arrangement, met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward on board a steamer in Hampton Roads and had a full, intelligent, and amicable discussion of the state of affairs. But as President Lincoln refused to negotiate except upon the basis of the disbandment of the Confederate forces, the restoration of the national authority, and the acknowledgment of the abolition of slavery, the conference came to nothing. During the conversation Stephens attempted to show that Lincoln would be justified in making terms with "rebels" by referring to the case of Charles I. of England. To this Lincoln replied, "I am not strong on history; I depend mainly on Secretary Seward for that. All I remember of Charles is that he lost his head."

352. Sheridan's Raid; Petersburg; Richmond taken; Lee surrenders. (1865.) — In February, Wilmington, N.C., was taken, and the Confederacy was without a port. In February and March, Sheridan, at the head of his cavalry, made a raid down the Shenandoah valley to Staunton, cutting the railroads upon which Lee largely depended for his supplies. He then, after joining Grant, was sent by him to the southwest of Petersburg. Sharp battles were fought with the result that Lee was unable to hold Petersburg, so he sent a telegram to President Davis on the 2d of April that it was necessary to evacuate both that city and Richmond at once. The message reached Davis while in his place of worship, for it was Sunday. He immediately arose and left the building. The preparations for evacuation soon told the inhabitants what was coming, and directly there was the greatest confusion.

The naval rams in the river were blown up, the tobacco warehouses set on fire, barrels of liquor were knocked in the head and their contents poured into the gutters as a precaution. Some soldiers, getting drunk from the liquor scooped up, began pillaging, which was joined in by others. Early in the morning of the 3d, General Weitzel, learning through a captured negro that the Confederates were evacuating Richmond, advanced, entered the city with his troops, and Richmond was taken at last. Six days after (April 9), Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant at Appomattox Court House, seventy-five miles west of Richmond, whither he had retreated after evacuating Richmond and Petersburg. Grant's terms were most liberal. The Confederate troops were to lay down their arms, return to their homes, and agree not to fight against the United States; he also let them have their horses, as they would "need them for the spring ploughing."

353. Lincoln assassinated; his Greatness. (1865.) — The capture of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's army was felt to be the end of the struggle. Lincoln himself visited Richmond the day after the capture, and walked through its streets. The rejoicing in the North over the successes had not ended, when the whole country, North and South, was horrified by the news of the assassination of President Lincoln at Ford's Theatre, Washington, on the evening of April 14, by John Wilkes Booth. The crime seems to have been the work of a southern fanatic filled with a half-crazy idea of vengeance, joined with a desire for notoriety. Secretary Seward was also attacked by another conspirator, but, though severely wounded, recovered.[1]

[1] Booth escaped, but was pursued, and finally shot by one of his pursuers. A number of the conspirators were captured, tried, and convicted, some on



ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1865.

It was not until after the death of President Lincoln that the people of the country realized how much they loved him, and how much they had learned to rely upon his kindliness and judgment. No vindictiveness had ever been apparent in his words or actions; and the southern people mourned him as well as the people of the North, for they felt they had lost one who would have been their friend. His real statesmanship received a tardy recognition; and now that they can be read calmly, his state papers are seen to be almost unsurpassed for clearness of meaning and vigor of style. His address at Gettysburg and his second inaugural are models of English. (Appendix iv.)

354. Andrew Johnson becomes President; Moral Effects of the War. (1865.) — A few hours after the death of Lincoln, Chief Justice Chase administered the oath to the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, who thus at once assumed the position and duties of President in accordance with the constitutional provision. On the 26th of April Johnston surrendered his army to Sherman. On the 10th of May Jefferson Davis[1] was captured in Georgia, and shortly after the Confederate forces one after another laid down their arms.[2]

On the 22d of May the President issued a proclamation, raising the blockade except for the ports of Texas. These were opened a month later. On the 23d and 24th of May

rather slender evidence. Four were hanged, and four sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

[1] Davis was first taken to Savannah, and thence to Fortress Monroe, where he was kept in imprisonment about two years. He was then released on bail, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Horace Greeley, and Gerrit Smith becoming his bondsmen. He was never brought to trial. He died in New Orleans, December 6, 1889.

[2] The last engagement was on the banks of the Rio Grande (May 12), and was a success for the Confederates.

the armies of Grant and of Sherman were reviewed in Washington by the President and the Cabinet, before being disbanded and sent home. The column of soldiers was over thirty miles long, and was a sight the like of which had never before been seen in the United States, and it is to be hoped never will be seen again. In a short time all the troops were disbanded except about 50,000, which were considered necessary to keep order. In all, about 1,000,000 men were sent back to their homes in the North, and about 200,000 in the South. Never had such large forces been returned to civil life with so little exhibition of lawlessness. Nor was there the slightest desire for anything like military rule. This was a great triumph for republican principles; and yet there is no doubt that in many ways the moral tone of the whole country was lowered, a logical result of all war, which must beget in most minds a disregard for the rights of others and for the value of human life. Many of the moral effects did not show themselves at once, but were seen later on. The same was true of the social and economic effects. The whole nation had become accustomed to large enterprises, and enormous financial operations by the government; and this may partly account for the willingness to continue to make large outlays of public money after the war had ended, and also for that spirit of speculation and expansion in business which helped to bring about the crisis of 1873 (sect. 375).

355. Losses from the War. (1865.) — Of the losses which can be estimated, the total is appalling. The loss of life in battle, from wounds, and from disease is thought to have been about equal on each side, and to have amounted to nearly 600,000 in all. The loss resulting from several hundred thousand men permanently disabled cannot be estimated. *Besides this* the United States government had piled up a vast

debt, the interest and principal of which were to be a heavy burden for years.[1] The cost to the South cannot be told. The South would count the value of the slaves, estimated to be $2,000,000,000; then property destroyed by both armies; then the actual expenditures by the individual states and by the Confederate government. All the southern notes and bonds, having been repudiated and rendered absolutely void, were a total loss, as well as all the state, county, and city loans issued in aid of the Confederate armies.[2] A careful writer says, "Altogether, while the cost of the war cannot exactly be calculated, $8,000,000,000 is a moderate estimate."

356. Sanitary and Christian Commissions; Effect of the War. (1865.) — Soon after the beginning of the war the accounts of the sufferings of the wounded and of the needs of the soldiers on the field and in the hospital led to the establishment, in the North, of the Sanitary and of the Christian Commissions. The former had its corps of officers, nurses, physicians, and attendants, whose duty was to look after the suffering, the wounded, and the needy. It had hospitals, hospital cars, and hospital boats. Its litters and ambulances were on the field before the battle was over, to care for those who needed help. Through it were distributed vast quantities of clothing, stores, and various comforts which had been prepared in northern homes. Millions of dollars to carry on this work were raised by private subscriptions and by means of "Sanitary Fairs," which were held all over the North.

[1] The debt reached its highest point August 31, 1865, when it amounted to $2,845,907,626.26. This included the "greenbacks," on which no interest is paid. Nearly $800,000,000 of revenue had also been spent; and the cities, towns, counties, and states had also expended much in cash beside incurring debts. The payment for pensions is already without precedent, and the aggregate will be something enormous.

[2] See Amendment XIV. to the Constitution.

The Christian Commission was organized to look after the moral and religious needs of the soldier, and co-operated with the Sanitary Commission. Never before had such great efforts been made to mitigate the sufferings incident to war.

The South was able to do very much less for her soldiers than the North, owing to the lack of resources.

The war settled at least two things: (1) That slavery was forever abolished; this was a result anticipated by very few; (2) that no state could leave the Union; that, in the words of Chief Justice Chase, the "Constitution looked to an indestructible union of indestructible states." The effect abroad was to increase greatly the respect in which the United States was held by foreign nations, and to strengthen the cause of republicanism everywhere. It was shown by both North and South that loyalty is as strong in a republic as in a monarchy.

CHAPTER XVII.

RECONSTRUCTION.

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357. Andrew Johnson. (**1865.**) — Andrew Johnson was a man of strong will, of decided convictions, and of much natural ability. He was born in North Carolina in 1808, and removed to Tennessee in early manhood. His parents were very poor, and his early education was extremely limited; in fact, it is said that he learned to read and write after he was married. He joined a debating society, accustomed himself to speaking, and soon was elected to the office of an alderman. He filled other offices in succession; and when President, he was fond of saying that he had filled every political office in the gift of his countrymen, a statement which was

perfectly true and much to his credit. Up to 1861 he was a loyal Democrat, supporting the party in all its policy. He was a strong Unionist, and was, as has been said, the only southern senator who refused to follow his state. He was again elected senator after leaving the Presidency, and died while holding that position, in 1875. He was pleased to be thought to resemble Andrew Jackson, and evidently took him as a model. Coming directly after Lincoln, and being placed in an extraordinarily difficult position, he was harshly judged by his contemporaries, though it must be said that his unyielding temper had much to do with provoking opposition. The Republicans soon repented their choice of him as much as the Whigs had done that of Tyler.



ANDREW JOHNSON.

Congress having adjourned in March until December, the President made the most of his opportunity. The condition of the South demanded some sort of government at once; Johnson appointed provisional governors who were to reorganize the states as soon as practicable. He believed that individuals should be punished, but the idea that a state should be kept from exercising any of its functions was contrary to his whole bringing up. He accordingly issued proclamations of amnesty to almost every one who had been engaged in the conflict on condition of taking an oath "faithfully to support, protect, and defend the Constitution and the Union"; he restored the writ of *habeas corpus* everywhere in the North; and in general tried to restore everything except slavery to the condition of affairs before the war.

358. Provisional Government in the South. (1865.) — The provisional governors called conventions which were elected by white voters. These conventions repealed the ordinances of secession; ratified the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, which had been proposed by the Congress early in the year, but not yet ratified by the states; and passed resolutions declaring that no debts incurred in supporting the Confederacy should be paid. The state governments were also recognized. In the President's view, nothing more was necessary to enable the states to send senators and representatives to Congress. When that body met in December, it viewed the matter in a very different light. It felt bound to protect the freedmen, as the former slaves were now called, and it was believed to be the intention of the southern legislatures to keep them in a condition of virtual slavery. While these facts may not justify the laws, they serve to explain their enactment. Congress accordingly refused to admit the senators and representatives, claiming that with it alone rested the power to decide when the states should be admitted to a representation in Congress (Constitution, Art. I., sect. 5). It must be remembered, however, that the southern whites had reason to believe that the freed slaves would be an idle, shiftless class, and were also naturally unwilling that they should be placed upon an equality with themselves.

359. Thirteenth Amendment; the President and Congress. (1865.) — The thirteenth amendment, having been ratified by the requisite number of states, became a part of the Constitution in December, 1865. This action did for the whole country what the Emancipation Proclamation had previously done for a part. It also confirmed the effects of that document and made them secure. The language of the amend-

ment is taken almost without a change from the Ordinance of 1787 (sect. 154). Maryland had, in October, 1864, by a small majority, adopted a new constitution which abolished slavery within her limits. Thus, after nearly a century, the United States became what Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and others of the early days had longed that she might be, — a free country.

From this time the President and Congress were continually in conflict. Owing to the non-admission of the southern members, the Republicans had a full two-thirds majority in both houses, and so were able to pass any measure which they desired over the President's veto (Constitution, Art. I., sect. 7). In this way the Civil Rights Bill, giving the freedmen the rights of citizens of the United States, was passed, though it did not give the right of suffrage, for then this matter was wholly within the authority of the states. Congress also, in order to make the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill permanent, proposed the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. It also passed over the President's veto the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, providing for the interests of the freed slaves in many ways. All this greatly irritated the President, who, foolishly in his turn, irritated Congress by calling it "No Congress." Congress revived the grade of general in the army, and Grant was promoted to that rank.

360. Reconstruction Acts. (1867.) — The result of the elections was to encourage Congress in the course upon which it had entered, for it became certain that the new Congress would have a two-thirds majority in opposition to the President. Accordingly a bill was passed, one of the provisions of which practically took from him the command of the army by requiring him to issue his orders through the general of the army, who could not be removed without the

consent of the Senate. The subsequent legislation of the Congress aimed to secure the suffrage of the negro and disfranchisement of the former southern leaders. In order to bring about this end various measures were passed, in 1867, called Reconstruction Acts. They provided first for the military government of the seceded states except Tennessee, which had been admitted to a representation in Congress in 1866. Again, each state was to remain under this military government until a convention chosen by voters, without regard to race or color, should frame a new government, acknowledging the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. The old Confederate leaders were debarred from voting for these conventions, or taking any part in them, and of course the adoption of the amendment would permanently disqualify them for holding public office of any kind unless by special action of Congress these disqualifications should be removed. (Appendix III., Constitution, Amend. XIV.)

361. Six States admitted; "Carpet-Baggers." (1868.) — Six of the states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, agreed to these conditions, and their delegations to Congress were admitted in June, 1868. The other four states declined to assent. The result in the assenting states was quite different from what had been hoped. In several of them the freed slaves were in the majority, and they were extremely ignorant, yet to them was committed the government of the states, the enactment of laws, and other important matters with which they were totally incompetent to deal. The natural result followed, — they were made tools of by unscrupulous men, many of whom came from other states with so little property with them that it was said it could all be put in a carpet-bag. Hence they were called "carpet-baggers." Between these "car-

pet-baggers" and the ignorant negroes the southern states fared badly, for money was squandered lavishly, and much that should have gone for public uses went into private pockets. This period in the South was a most unfortunate one. But neither North nor South was wholly to blame for it. The North acted with much ignorance of the real situation; while the South was naturally reluctant to accept the results of the war.

362. Tenure of Office Act; the President impeached. (1867, 1868.) — Since the adoption of the Constitution it had been the practice of the Presidents to remove subordinates when occasion seemed to demand it. Now Congress feared that President Johnson might, by removal of officers of the government who differed with him in politics, impede if not render useless the acts which had been passed. So the Tenure of Office Act was passed to prevent this. By this act, which the President vetoed as unconstitutional, but which was passed over his veto March 2, 1867, no officer for whose appointment the consent of the Senate was needful could be removed without the consent of that body. This sweeping measure naturally roused the ire of the President, and he resolved to ignore the act. He consequently asked Secretary Stanton (May 5) to resign; upon his refusal, he removed him. At the next session of Congress the Senate refused to confirm this action, so Stanton again took possession of his office, but the President ordered Lorenzo Thomas, whom he had appointed in his place, to resume the duties of his office. For this action mainly, though other points were mentioned in the indictment, the House of Representatives impeached President Johnson. According to the provisions of the Constitution, he was tried by the Senate, Chief Justice Chase presiding (Art. I. ii. 5; iii. 6). After a trial lasting

from March 5 to May 16, 1868, he was acquitted, those voting guilty being one less in number than the two-thirds necessary for conviction. This has been the only instance of impeachment of a President, and many even of those politically opposed to Johnson thought the measure unwise.

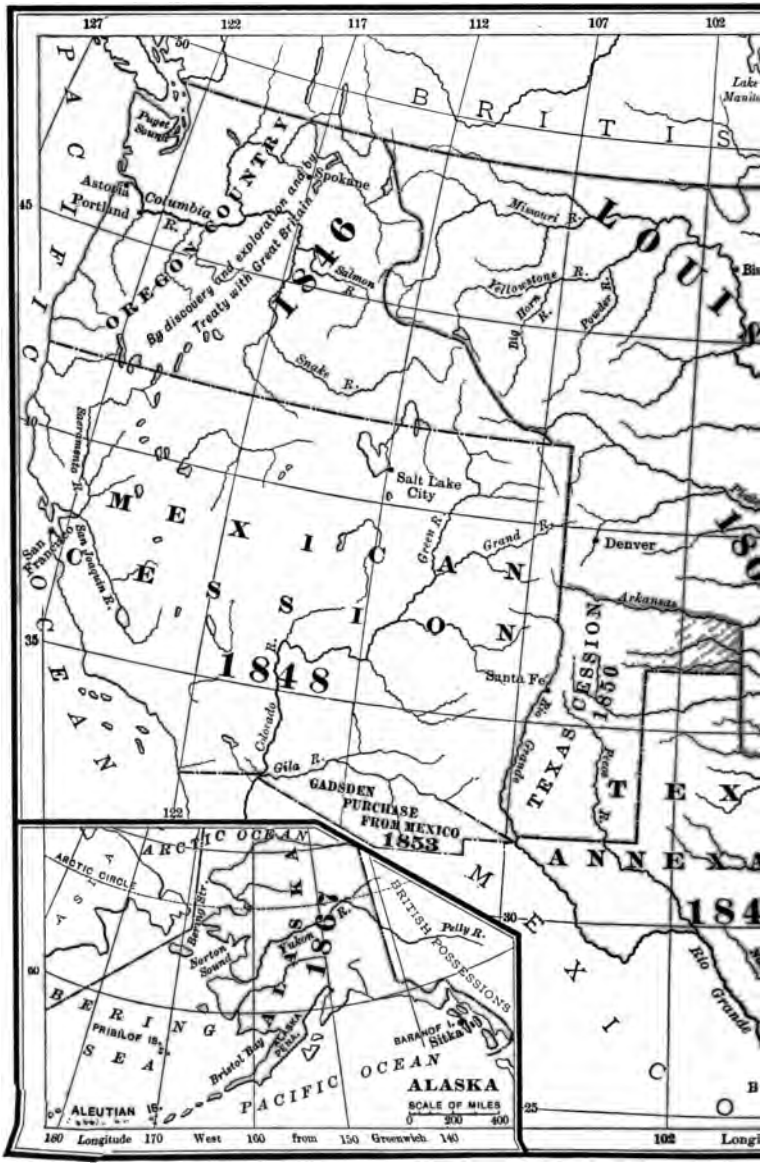
363. Grant and Colfax elected; Amnesty. (1868.) — The time had again come to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. The Republican convention, justifying the acts of Congress, went before the country on that issue and nominated General Grant for President and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for Vice-President. The Democratic convention attacked the measures and policy of the Republicans, and demanded that the southern states should be restored to all their rights, and that the question of suffrage should be left to the individual states. Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, were chosen as candidates. At the election in November, 1868, Grant and Colfax were chosen by a large majority of the electoral votes, as well as of the popular vote. Thus the voice of the people seemed to confirm the action of Congress, but as Grant was at this time the most popular man in the United States, it is likely that thousands voted for him, giving little attention to the political questions involved.

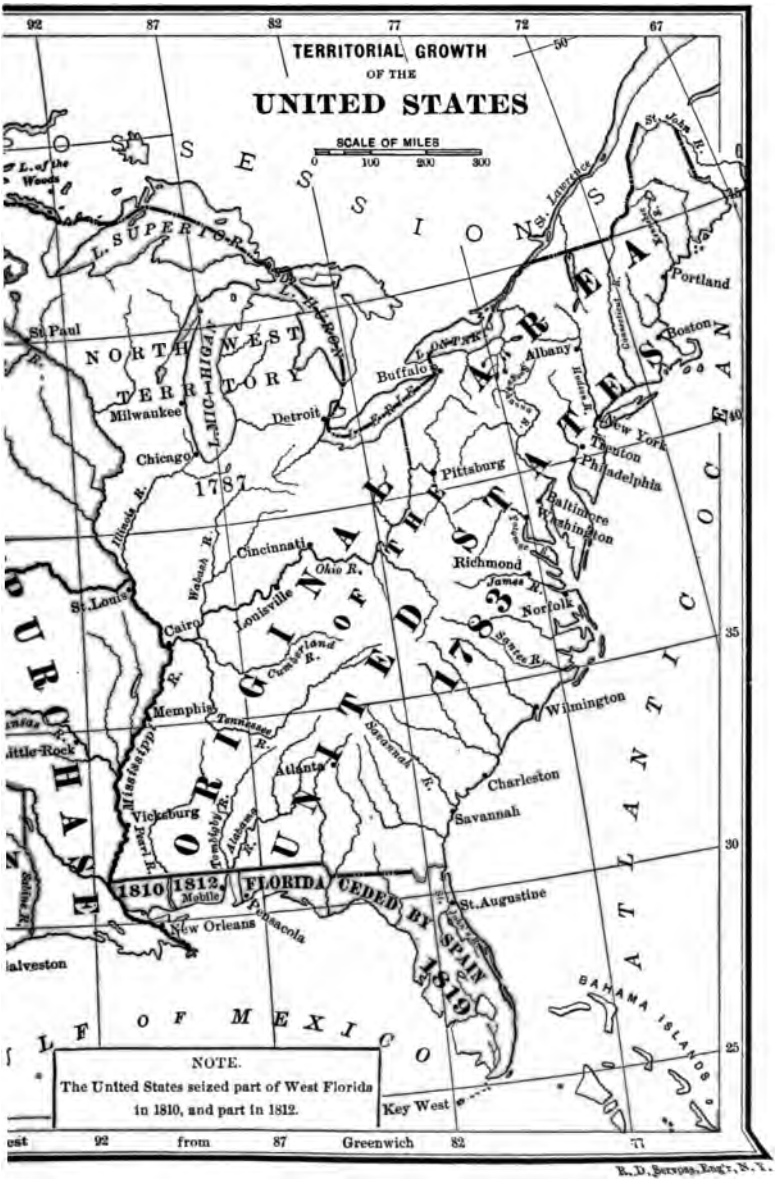
President Johnson, on Christmas Day, 1868, issued a proclamation of "full pardon and amnesty" to those who had been concerned in the "late rebellion." This did not restore political rights, as that had to be done by Congress. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution had forbidden slavery; the fourteenth had given the freedmen citizenship; and now Congress proposed the fifteenth, which would give the freedmen the right of suffrage.

364. Atlantic Telegraph Cable. (1866.) — Alaska bought. (1867.) — But political matters, though of surpassing interest, were not the only ones to claim the attention during President Johnson's administration. Cyrus W. Field, of New York, to whom the first Atlantic cable had been due (sect. 290), was by no means discouraged by its failure. He had demonstrated the possibility of a communication under the ocean, and so he set to work to remedy the defects of the early cables, and in the summer of 1866 the immense steamship *Great Eastern*, with a new cable made in England on board, set sail for America, for the purpose of laying the cable on the way. This was entirely successful, and on the 27th of July the western end was landed at Heart's Content, Newfoundland, and messages were exchanged with Valentia Bay, Ireland. Since that time the telegraphic communication between the old world and the new has never been interrupted. Later on, other cables were laid, until, in 1892, there were ten lines in operation across the North Atlantic alone. The rates of transmission have been so much reduced by competition that it is within the means of almost every one to send messages, while the newspaper press has whole columns of news cabled every day. Trade has been revolutionized by the cable no less than by steam, as through it the market prices of the world are daily reported in the newspaper press.

In 1867 the possessions of Russia in America were bought by the United States for $7,200,000. The territory amounted to about 577,390 square miles.[1] It was thought by many at the time a very foolish enterprise, and Secretary Seward, to whom the purchase was largely due, was made the object of much ridicule and chaffing. Time has, however, abundantly justified his action, the rent of the seal fisheries alone being

[1] This territory differs from previous annexations in that no part of it *touched the boundaries* of the United States.


127
122
117
112
107
102
50
45
40
35
30
25
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH
Lake Manitoba
Puget Sound
Astoria
Portland
Columbia R.
OREGON COUNTRY
Spokane
Missouri R.
Salmon R.
Yellowstone R.
Big Horn R.
Powder R.
Snake R.
By discovery and explorations made by
Treaty with Great Britain
1846
LOUISIANA
Sacramento R.
San Francisco
San Joaquin R.
Salt Lake City
Green R.
Grand R.
Denver
MEXICAN CESSION
1848
Arkansas R.
Santa Fe
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Canadian R.
Pecos R.
TEXAS CESSION 1850
TEXAS
GADSDEN PURCHASE FROM MEXICO 1853
ANNEXATION
1845
MEXICO
Rio Grande
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Mackenzie R.
Yukon R.
Norton Sound
BERING SEA
PRIBILOF IS.
Bristol Bay
Cook Inlet
BARANOF I.
Sitka
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA
ALEUTIAN IS.
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400
180 Longitude 170 West 160 from 150 Greenwich 140
102 Longi


TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
ORIGINAL TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES
1787
1810
1812
FLORIDA CEDED BY SPAIN 1819
NOTE.
The United States seized part of West Florida in 1810, and part in 1812.
NORTH WEST TERRITORY
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
ALABAMA
SESSIONS
L. SUPERIOR
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
L. ONTARIO
L. ERIE
St. Lawrence R.
St. John R.
Portland
Boston
Albany
New York
Trenton
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Richmond
Norfolk
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah
St. Augustine
Key West
BAHAMA ISLANDS
Pittsburg
Buffalo
Detroit
Milwaukee
Chicago
St. Paul
Cincinnati
Louisville
Cairo
St. Louis
Memphis
Vicksburg
New Orleans
Pensacola
Mobile
Atlanta
Ohio R.
Tennessee R.
Cumberland R.
Wabash R.
Illinois R.
Mississippi R.
Red R.
Arkansas R.
Alabama R.
Tombigby R.
Savannah R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Potomac R.
Hudson R.
Connecticut R.
Genesee R.
Mohawk R.
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
Rappahannock R.
Yazoo R.
Pearl R.
Little Rock
Galveston
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
92
87
82
77
72
67
50
45
40
35
30
25
from Greenwich
west
R. D. Parsons, Engr. N. Y.

sufficient to pay the interest on the investment. Alaska, as the territory was named, has been discovered to be a land rich in mineral wealth and in valuable forests, while the climate is by no means a cold or very disagreeable one, though somewhat damp. It has already become a place of resort for summer tourists on account of the wonderful scenery, its mountains and glaciers rivalling those of Switzerland. As the Aleutian Islands were included in the purchase, the western limit of the United States was carried to longitude 173° east from Greenwich, making the possessions of the United States cover one hundred and twenty degrees of longitude.

Nebraska, which had been organized as a territory under the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 (sect. 280), was admitted as a state in 1867, with the proviso that negro suffrage should be allowed.

365. French in Mexico; Maximilian. (1861–1867.) — In 1861 France, England, and Spain jointly had interfered with the affairs of Mexico on the ground of non-payment of her bonds, but England soon saw that Napoleon III., the Emperor of France, had political designs in the movement, and so withdrew from the alliance. Spain also refused to have anything more to do with the matter. Napoleon, however, went on with his plans, in spite of the protest of Secretary Seward that such action would be resented by the United States as contrary to the policy laid down in the Monroe Doctrine (sect. 208). French troops were sent to Mexico, the republican government was overturned, and an empire in Mexico proclaimed. Napoleon's idea was to found a grand empire in Mexico tributary to himself. For emperor he fixed upon Maximilian, a nephew of the Emperor of Austria. Deceived by deputations of Mexicans who were under the influence of the French, he was persuaded to accept the offer, and in the

spring of 1864 entered the city of Mexico. He soon quarrelled with the party who had supported him, but by the aid of the French troops he maintained his power in the capital and in some of the other cities. In 1865 the United States government, having come out of the Civil War successfully, again demanded of the French emperor the withdrawal of his troops. This time Napoleon deemed it wise to comply. Maximilian, however, thought he could get along without the support of the French, but the armies of the Mexican republican party captured him in 1867, and, though the United States interceded for him, he was shot, together with two native Mexican generals who had espoused his cause. His wife, Carlotta, a princess of Belgium, who felt herself in some degree responsible for his remaining in Mexico after the withdrawal of the French troops, became insane through grief. The Mexican republic was re-established and has remained undisturbed ever since.

366. Expatriation; Chinese Treaty; Pacific Railroad; San Domingo. (1868–1871.) — In 1868 the historian, George Bancroft, then United States minister to the North German Confederation, negotiated a treaty with that power by which the right of expatriation was acknowledged; that is, the German government recognized that a citizen of one country had a right to sever his allegiance to it and become a citizen of another country. This principle the United States had upheld from the very first, but the European nations had been slow to accept it. It was not until two years later (1870) that England, by the passage of her Naturalization Act, adopted the principle, and gave up what she had claimed as a right, and had practised during the Revolutionary War as well as that of 1812. Most of the European nations have followed the example of Germany and England.

During the same year, 1868, a treaty with China was negotiated through Anson Burlingame, who had been minister to that country, but was now acting as agent for China. This was the first treaty which that country had ever, of its own accord, offered to make with a foreign nation.

An early event of Grant's administration was the completion of the Pacific Railroad at Ogden, Utah, May 10, 1869, which was appropriately celebrated. This great work, accomplished by means of most liberal grants by Congress, was the first of those chains which bind the two extremes of the country together, and make a union under one government possible. By means of it and the other railroads to the Pacific which have since been built, communication with the Pacific states is easier and more rapid than between the cities of Boston and Washington in the early part of the century. Josiah Quincy, who protested, in 1811, against the admission of Louisiana as a state, partly because it would make the country too large to be governed as a republic, lived to see representatives from Oregon in Congress, and the Atlantic and Pacific bound together by telegraph and railroad.

President Grant strongly recommended to Congress the annexation of San Domingo, part of the island of Haiti. He urged that it would be of great advantage to the United States as a coaling station for war vessels, that it was exceedingly fertile, and that under the care of the United States its people would rapidly increase in intelligence and in thrift. Congress did not approve of the scheme, feeling that the country had enough on its hands in settling the difficult questions in the South without undertaking anything else of a similar nature; and in this they represented the popular opinion.

367. "Kuklux Klan." (1868–1871.) — All States represented in Congress. (1871.) — About the time of the Presidential elec-

tion of 1868 a secret organization arose in the South, known as the "Kuklux Klan." Originally started to scare the superstitious colored people, it soon became a political society, whose purpose was to terrify the freedmen and intimidate the "carpet-baggers" and their supporters. Some of its members, or pretended members, went on from this to commit outrages of various kinds and even murder. The operations were extensive enough to demand the attention of Congress, which passed severe laws to suppress the order, and appointed an investigating committee which made a voluminous report. At last the law-abiding citizens of all political affinities united in suppressing it. The Kuklux Klan was chiefly active in North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

The efforts of the white population of the South were directed towards getting control of the state legislatures, in order to revise the election laws. It was not very long before this end had been practically gained in most of the reconstructed states. By 1869 all the southern states had been readmitted to a representation in Congress except Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas. These were admitted in the next year, so that in January, 1871, for the first time since 1860, every state was represented in Congress. The Supreme Court of the United States had decided, in 1869, in favor of the legality of the reconstruction measures of Congress. The court declared that the states had never been out of the Union, but that the Confederate government was "a temporary military dominion, in which the lawful authority was entirely suspended."

368. Fifteenth Amendment; Civil Rights and Election Acts. (1870–1871.) — The fifteenth amendment, having been ratified by the requisite number of states, was proclaimed August

22, 1870.[1] It was one thing to adopt amendments, but quite another thing to carry them out. Accordingly Congress, believing that in a great part of the South they were a dead letter, passed one law after another to enforce them. On this ground were passed the Civil Rights Act (1870), designed to apply to the fifteenth amendment; the Election Act (1870), which regulated all the national elections, and also made the manner of the election uniform, and the day of the election the same throughout the country;[2] and the Enforcement Act (1871), or, as it was generally called, the "Force Bill." This bill was somewhat similar to the Sedition Act of 1798 (sect. 166), and was resented by the South and disapproved of by many in the North, even among the Republicans. It divided that party, and ultimately drove many permanently out of its ranks. A large committee was also appointed by Congress to inquire into the condition of the southern states.

Grant and Colfax were inaugurated March 4, 1869. Ulysses S. Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, 1822. He was educated at West Point, graduating in 1843. He served in the Mexican War, under both Taylor and Scott, with credit. He resigned from the army in 1854, and, after some time, entered his father's leather store at Galena, Illinois, as a clerk. In 1861 he was appointed Colonel of a volunteer regiment, and later Major-General. In 1863 he was appointed Major-General in the regular army; in 1864, Lieutenant-General; and in 1865, General, reaching the highest rank. At the close of his second term as President, he made the tour of the world, and was received everywhere with the greatest distinction. He died July 23, 1885.

[1] Appendix III., Constitution.

[2] Congress afterwards modified the law in regard to two or three states.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NEW NATION.

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369. The Indian Peace Policy. (1869.) — One of the pleasantest features of Grant's first administration is the effort which he made to deal justly with the Indians. This was called the "Peace" or "Quaker Policy." He announced in his first annual message that he had begun "a new policy towards these wards of the nation by giving the management of a few reservations of Indians to members of the Society of Friends," which body had since the days of William Penn *taken special interest* in the Indians and had lived peaceably



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with them. The Society of Friends was to nominate agents to the President, and on his approval they were to be appointed. Very soon other reservations were similarly entrusted to other religious denominations. The President's wish was to treat the Indians justly, and later he recommended "liberal appropriations to carry out the Indian peace policy, not only because it is humane, Christianlike, and economical, but because it is right." The results of this policy, so far as it was carried out, were such as to give great encouragement to its friends. But after years of harsh and unjust treatment by the whites, the Indian was slow to believe in the reality of the change, and, on the other hand, the hordes of Indian contractors, who saw that their pockets would suffer, exerted their great influence to thwart and injure the new policy in every way; many other persons were sceptical and gave it the cold shoulder, and not a few echoed the cruel saying, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." There is, however, reason to believe that President Grant's action did much to bring the whole question before the country and to interest a large number of citizens everywhere in the cause of the red man, resulting in the establishment of an "Indian Rights Association."

370. Alabama Claims; Geneva Arbitration. (1871.) — Though the United States had from the very first claimed damages from Great Britain for injuries inflicted upon American commerce by the *Alabama* and other war vessels fitted out in English ports, the British government for a long time declined to entertain the question. At last, after the United States Senate had failed to ratify one treaty, a treaty was negotiated in 1871 at Washington — hence called the Treaty of Washington — between commissioners of both nations, in which it was agreed that all questions about which there was

any dispute between the two nations should be left to arbitration. The Alabama claims were to be referred to five arbitrators, one to be appointed by the United States, one by Great Britain, one by Italy, one by Switzerland, and one by Brazil. A majority of these was to decide questions brought before them. The United States appointed Charles Francis Adams, who was the United States minister to London during the Civil War, and was of course thoroughly familiar with the whole matter; Great Britain appointed Sir Alexander Cockburn, then the Lord Chief Justice of England; Italy, Count Sclopis; Switzerland, her Ex-President Staempfli; and Brazil, Vicompte d'Itajuba. Other matters disposed of by the treaty were the Fishery Claims of Canada upon the United States, which were referred for settlement to a commission selected by Great Britain and the United States; and the question of the true boundary between Washington Territory and British Columbia, which had been a disputed point since the treaty of 1842 (sect. 250). This last was left to the absolute decision of the Emperor of Germany. The fact that two of the most powerful nations in the world were willing to leave such important matters to arbitration, marked a great advance in civilization, and the fact that these important questions were all peaceably settled in this way was a still greater triumph of justice and good sense.

371. Award at Geneva; Boundary Dispute. (1872.) — Fishery Question. (1877.) — The Alabama Commission met at Geneva, Switzerland, as had been arranged, and after each nation had presented its case, rendered its decision September 14, 1872, awarding the United States $15,500,000 in compensation for the damages caused by the depredations of the *Alabama* and the *Florida* and their tenders. The American claim for indirect damages was not allowed by the commis-

sion. Though England was by no means pleased with the verdict, the large sum was promptly paid to the representative of the United States.

The Emperor of Germany decided (1872) the boundary question in the Northwest in favor of the United States; so that after nearly a century, the long line between the British possessions and the United States was finally settled in a peaceable manner.

The Fisheries Commission met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and (1877) awarded Great Britain $5,500,000 in compensation for the extra advantages accruing to the United States from the fishery clauses of the existing treaties. This was felt universally in the United States to be greatly in excess of the real sum due, and the House of Representatives at one time threatened to refuse to make the necessary appropriation, but better counsels prevailed, the appropriation was authorized, and the payment was made without unnecessary delay.

372. Chicago and Boston Fires. (1871, 1872.) — During the year 1871 occurred one of the most disastrous fires in history. On the evening of October 9th, a fire broke out in a stable in Chicago, started, it was said, by a cow kicking over a coal-oil lamp. The fire quickly spread, until, aided by a high wind, it passed beyond control, and for two days it raged through the richest and best parts of the city, only stopping when the lake was reached. More than three square miles were burnt over, between two and three hundred persons lost their lives, property to the amount of $200,000,000 was destroyed, and about 100,000 people were rendered homeless. One of the most striking illustrations of the rapid communication between different parts of the world, and also of the increasing sympathy of men for men, is shown by

the fact that news of the great disaster had hardly been telegraphed to other parts of the country before subscriptions for the aid of the sufferers were begun, and provisions, clothing, and supplies of every kind that might be needed were sent by railroad. Contributions from all over the Union and from beyond the sea, even from Japan, kept pouring in to help the stricken city; no such widespread sympathy had ever been known before. About a year later, in November, 1872, Boston, Massachusetts, suffered from a great fire also; about sixty-five acres were burned over, and property valued at nearly $80,000,000 destroyed. Like Chicago, the area burnt over was soon rebuilt finer than ever. Almost at the same time as the Chicago fire, great forest fires occurred in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan. In Wisconsin alone it was estimated that 1500 people were burned to death.

373. Amnesty Bill; Grant renominated; Liberal Republicans; Democrats. (**1872.**) — In May, 1872, Congress passed an Amnesty Bill by which the political disabilities of the former Confederates were removed. A few exceptions of prominent persons were made, but not more than three hundred and fifty in all.

As the time for the Presidential election came around again, the majority of the Republican party were in favor of nominating President Grant for a second term. Though there had been many things connected with his administration which were objectionable, the majority of the people had most perfect confidence in his personal integrity. He was accordingly nominated, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. There was, however, a minority of the party which strongly disapproved of the use of the *national troops* in the South to help the reconstructed gov-

'ernments maintain their power, and others who believed from some scandals in connection with the national administration that a change was necessary. Sympathizers with these views called themselves Liberal Republicans, and, in a state election, succeeded in carrying Missouri. Encouraged by this, they started a national organization and nominated Horace Greeley, of New York, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The Democratic party had no great issue to present, and so adopted the candidates and platform of the Liberal Republicans. In the election that followed, Grant and Wilson were elected by a large majority of the popular and of the electoral vote. Horace Greeley, worn out by the excitement and by ill health, died soon after the election.



HORACE GREELEY.

374. "Modoc War." — During 1872 there was a war with the Modoc Indians. This tribe lived in southern Oregon and had been badly treated some years previously, and when new trouble began, the old wrongs were remembered. After a war of nearly a year, three commissioners with a flag of truce visited the tribes in their retreat among the lava beds, and while there two of them, one being General Canby of the United States Army, were killed. This was done because the commissioners had refused to yield to their demands, and to avenge some of the tribe who were killed while under a flag of truce by some United States troops twenty years

before. After a great expense and loss of life, the tribe was completely conquered, and the few who were left were removed to Indian Territory.[1]

375. Commercial Crisis of 1873. — The effect of the Civil War upon business and financial matters was not clearly seen until 1873. Accustomed to lavish expenditure of money during the conflict, and encouraged by the success of the first Pacific Railroad, as well as by large crops, the country again entered upon a career of great enterprise, particularly in railroad building. During the four years of Grant's first administration the railroad mileage of the United States was increased more than fifty per cent, and the total was equal to that of all Europe. A condition of affairs very similar to that in 1857 followed; finally a prominent banking house in Philadelphia, which was largely interested in the Northern Pacific Railroad, failed, and one of the worst and most widespread financial panics which this country has ever seen was precipitated. It was six years before the country fully recovered from its effects.

376. Temperance Crusade in Ohio. (1873, 1874.) — During the winter of 1873–74 many of the women of Ohio, deeply interested in the temperance movement, started a crusade against the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Drinking-saloons were visited, and almost every means of persuasion and personal influence was used to induce the

[1] The subsequent history of the remnants of this tribe is a very interesting one. Some of them were put under the care of a Christian agent; and through the kindness and judicious treatment of this man and his wife, these Indians, once among the wildest and most intractable, have become among the most quiet and law-abiding; a number have become members of the Society of Friends, and one or two are ministers of the Gospel in that religious body.

saloon-keepers to give up the business. The movement extended to Indiana and other western states, and also, to some extent, to New York, particularly in Brooklyn. Accompanied at times by objectionable features, the movement served the purpose of calling increased attention to the evils resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. Partly as a result of this movement was the rise of the large and influential organization known as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The crusade also helped to establish a national Prohibition Party a few years afterwards.

377. Weather Bureau. (1870.) — In 1870 Congress established the Weather Bureau for the purpose of making accurate observations of the weather, and publishing the results of the observations for the benefit of the public in the shape of "indications" of approaching storms, fine weather, or changes, as the case might be. Records of the temperature, moisture, height of the rivers, and other matters of interest are made and published. As the result of careful observations and accurate comparison of many records, the "indications" published are realized in a very large majority of cases. These weather reports have been of great service in warning farmers, and also sailors in port, of approaching storms, and so have resulted in preventing much loss of property. Placed at first under the care of the Signal Service of the army, the Weather Bureau was, by order of Congress, transferred to the Agricultural Department, July 1, 1891.

378. Credit Mobilier. (1872.) — **"Franking" abolished; "Salary Grab." (1872.)** — During the Presidential campaign many charges of corruption had been brought against the Republicans, among them one that members of Congress had been bribed to pass measures favorable to the Union Pacific Rail-

road, by presents of stock in a corporation known as the Credit Mobilier,[1] which was a company organized for the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, relieving the stockholders of any risk. Congress ordered an investigation, the result of which was that two of the members of the House of Representatives were absolutely condemned for the part which they had taken. Others suffered much in public estimation for their connection with the enterprise, and had to retire, perforce, from political life.

Up to 1873 the members of Congress, and very many of the government officials, had the privilege of "franking" letters, and indeed all matter which could be sent through the mails.[2] Mail matter addressed to congressmen and officials was also free. This privilege was so grossly abused that public opinion demanded a revision of the law, which was changed so that only publications authorized by Congress, and communications on strictly official business of the government departments could be so sent. An allowance for postage was, however, made to each congressman. The same Congress also raised the salary of many of the officials of the government, among them that of the President of the United States to $50,000 per year, and that of the congressmen to $7500. In this latter case the bill was made to apply to the current salaries, and the increase to date back to the beginning of the Congress. This created such a storm of popular disapproval that almost all the congressmen who had taken advantage of the new law returned the excess over the old salary to the Treasury. The bill was repealed at the next

[1] Credit Mobilier is a French phrase for credit on movable or personal property.

[2] By writing the name of the sender on the outside of the letter or package, it was insured free carriage; this was "to frank." The widows of Presidents *Grant and Garfield*, and a few others, have the privilege of "franking."

session. Notwithstanding the storm of disapproval, Congress had only done what previous Congresses had done before. In itself the advance in the salary was doubtless justifiable, and had it been unaccompanied by the "Back Salary Grab," as it was called, it is likely the action would have provoked little criticism. The United States, lavish in almost everything else, has always been almost niggardly in the payment of its public servants.

379. Republican Reverses. (1874.) — In 1874 the President was called upon at various times for assistance in preserving order in the reconstructed states (Constitution, Art. IV., sect. 4). This was done so often that the patience of the country, as well as that of the President, was exhausted. There was also a still larger number of persons than before who believed that the United States troops should no longer be used to support state factions, and that it was quite time to withdraw Federal troops from the reconstructed states. These feelings were shown very decidedly in the fall elections of 1874, when states which had been considered surely Republican elected Democratic officers and legislatures, and the Republican majority of 107 in the House of Representatives was turned into a Democratic majority of 74. This political upheaval, showing a growing independence of thought, was not wholly due to southern affairs, but also to the political corruption which had been unearthed. It is not unlikely that the financial panic of the preceding year had its effect, for it is a curious fact, particularly in republics, that the party holding the reins of government for the time being is often held responsible for things wholly beyond its power to control, as well as for those for which it is directly responsible. Thus a failure in crops will sometimes turn a party out of office.

380. Whiskey Frauds; Resumption Act. (1875.) — During 1875, extensive frauds on the government in connection with the internal revenue tax on whiskey were discovered, implicating officers of the government, some of whom were convicted on trial. The result of these revelations of corruption and dishonesty was a widespread and exaggerated belief in the inefficiency and corruption of government officers generally.

On January 14, 1875, Congress passed an act providing that on the first day of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury should redeem in coin all United States legal-tender notes which might be presented to the Treasury, in sums of not less than fifty dollars. Many thought this act a mere political device, not believing it possible for the country to resume specie payment so soon (sect. 392).

381. Centennial Exhibition; Telephone. (1876.) — As the centennial anniversary of the independence of the United States approached, it was determined to celebrate it by holding a grand exhibition in the city of Philadelphia, where the independence had been proclaimed. In aid of this enterprise Congress rather reluctantly voted an appropriation of $1,500,000. The other nations of the world were invited to take part in the exhibition, and it resulted in a truly international enterprise. One of the largest of the foreign displays was that of Great Britain, a pleasing testimony to the good feeling existing between the two great English-speaking nations of the world, in spite of the past occasions for differences. The exhibition was kept open from May 10 to November 1, 1876, over 10,000,000 persons visiting the grounds during that time. The exhibition had a great educational value. It brought the results of industry and invention before the people to a degree impossible by other means,

instructed them in the knowledge of the products of their own and other countries, and greatly educated the taste of the whole community. Ever since that time there has been a marked improvement in the appreciation of the beautiful throughout the country. The United States surpassed all other nations in the variety and usefulness of inventions; among the most striking of these was the telephone, then first brought into public notice, and the practical application of electricity for illuminating purposes. The invention of the telephone has been claimed by several persons, but to Alexander Graham Bell, of Massachusetts, seems to belong the credit of the invention of a practical instrument.

382. "Sioux War"; Colorado admitted. (1876.) — Again trouble arose with the Indians, this time with the Sioux. This tribe had been given a reservation on which to live near the Black Hills in Dakota. It was not long before gold was discovered in this region, and immediately crowds of white settlers and miners invaded the reservation. This the Sioux, under the lead of the chief, Sitting Bull, and others, resisted, and naturally retaliated upon the settlers in Montana and Wyoming. The Sioux had already refused to give up their reservation and retire to the Indian Territory. A considerable force was sent against them; and, in the course of the war, General Custer with a small band of soldiers rashly followed the Indians, and was attacked by them with a greatly superior force, and he and all his men were killed. The government, however, before long conquered the tribe, and Sitting Bull and the remnant fled across the border into Canada.

Colorado was admitted as a state in 1876, and hence is known as the "Centennial State." Its chief interest is mining, but it is well adapted to grazing, and, in many parts, to

agriculture. It is remarkable for the dryness of its atmosphere, and hence has become a great health resort. Its growth in population and wealth has been rapid; the Pacific Railroads have done much to make this growth possible.

383. Impeachment of Belknap; Nomination of Presidential Candidates. (**1876.**) — At the Presidential election in 1876 there seemed to be no great political questions before the country, and so the Republicans reaffirmed their old platform and dilated upon what the party had done in the past. The Democrats, encouraged by their successes in 1874, attacked the Republicans vigorously for the mistakes that had been made, and for the political corruptions which had been disclosed. These last had been increased by the charge that the Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, had received bribes in relation to the appointment of office-holders. For this he was impeached by the House of Representatives, but having resigned the office before the impeachment, there was some question as to the power of Congress to take such action after his resignation had been accepted by the President. As a two-thirds majority did not vote for conviction, the prosecution fell to the ground.

An interesting feature of the campaign, showing the drifts and currents of public opinion, was the appearance in the field of two other parties with candidates. These were, first, the National Greenback Party, which held that the Resumption Act should be repealed, and that the currency of the country should be paper money, convertible at the will of the holder into United States bonds bearing 3.65 per cent annual interest; secondly, the National Prohibition Party, which advocated, as the name implies, the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for a beverage. *After a bitter* contest in the convention, the Republican fac-

tions compromised by nominating Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President. The Democratic convention, rehearsing the shortcomings of the Republicans and demanding the speedy repeal of the Resumption Act, nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President. After a most exciting canvass, it was found, after the election day, that the result was exceedingly close, and that the decision chiefly rested upon the votes of Florida and Louisiana.

384. Returning Boards. (1876, 1877.) — During the reconstruction period in the South, one feature of the legislation had been the creation by law of committees called "Returning Boards," whose duties were to receive the election returns from the various parts of the state and count the number of votes for the different candidates. The discretionary power given to these boards was very great, and from their decision there was no appeal. Such powers would seem unwise under almost any circumstances, but the facts should not be overlooked in the discussion of the question. It was seen that the action of these boards would probably decide the election, and public attention was at once and closely directed to these states. On the face of the returns in both Florida and Louisiana, the Democrats had a majority of votes; but the Returning Board in each of these states, having Republican majorities in each case, threw out so many votes on the ground of intimidation of voters, a legal excuse if true, that each state was given to the Republicans. The Democrats very naturally claimed that they had been cheated out of the election by fraud, and resolved to refuse to admit the votes of these two states, as well as of two or three others, when the time came for the counting of the electoral votes in Con-

gress. If they were successful in this, the Democratic candidates would be chosen, or the choice of the President would devolve upon the House of Representatives, which, having a Democratic majority, would, of course, choose the ones claimed by the Democrats to be elected. The Republicans were equally strong in the determination to seat their candidates, who they declared were legally and justly chosen. Congress had exercised for a long time the right to decide disputed electoral votes; but now the Senate and House were controlled by different parties, and there seemed no hope of an agreement, as neither house would consent to any plan which would surely seat the opposing candidate. "Never since the formation of the government, nor even in the darkest days of the Civil War, were there such anxious forebodings among thoughtful men as prevailed for some days in January, 1877."

385. Electoral Commission. (1877.) — Finally the sober men of both parties in Congress united upon a plan to settle the dispute, which after much discussion was accepted by Congress and the President. This was, that a "Joint High Commission" should be appointed, to which all questions relative to points concerning the electoral votes upon which both houses of Congress could not agree, should be referred, and whose decision should be final. This commission was to consist of fifteen, five to be chosen by the Senate and five by the House of Representatives, four to be Justices of the Supreme Court, who were to choose another justice of the same court to complete the fifteen. It was so arranged that the fourteen were equally divided between the two political parties; and it was expected that the justices would choose as their associate, Justice David Davis, who was classed as an *independent in politics*, and whose views no one knew. Just

at this time, however, Davis was elected senator for the state of Illinois; and it was deemed unsuitable for him to act on the commission. The justices accordingly chose another of the associates in his place. This one happened to be Republican in his views, so the commission was constituted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats.

386. Decision in Favor of Republicans. (1877.) — When the first disputed case came up before it, the commission decided, eight to seven,[1] that it would not go behind the returns of the Returning Boards and investigate the local proceedings in the contested states. This decision practically gave the election to the Republicans. On all the important points which came before it, the commission decided in favor of the Republican candidates, who were accordingly declared elected early on the morning of the 3d of March. Thus one of the greatest dangers to which the country has ever been exposed was peaceably averted. "It has been reserved for a government of the people, where the right of suffrage is universal, to give to the world the first example in history of a great nation, in the midst of a struggle of opposing parties for power, hushing its party tumults, to yield the issue of the contest to adjustment according to the forms of law" (Hayes's Inaugural). The decision of the commission not to go behind the returns was a wise one. Any attempt to investigate the alleged frauds would have led to endless trouble and dangerous delay, resulting in no legal government, as the investigation would necessarily have lasted long after the 4th of March, the time for a new administration to enter office. The acquiescence of both the Democratic candidates and of the party in the decision is worthy of great praise.

[1] That the decision should have been in accord with the political views of the majority was to be expected. Such has been the almost universal experience in England and other countries.

CHAPTER XIX.

RECENT GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

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387. Hayes and his Administration. (1877–1881.) — Rutherford B. Hayes, born in Ohio, 1822, a lawyer by profession,

entered the army early in the Civil War, and rapidly rose to the rank of brigadier-general; he was a member of Congress, 1865–67; governor of Ohio, 1868–72, and again, 1876–77, thus holding the office three terms. He was a man of sterling integrity, an advocate of civil service reform, and of the early resumption of specie payments, and of a policy towards the South that would treat all classes with justice. The inauguration passed off quietly, and the country breathed peacefully. President Hayes withdrew the few troops which were in the South, the whites assumed complete control, and the South became solidly Democratic. It was charged that Hayes, by acknowledging the Democratic governments in the disputed states, practically impugned his own title. He was, however, bound to accept the decision of Congress which declared that he was legally elected.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

The administration of Hayes was a welcome calm after the troubled years immediately following the Civil War. Void of any events of striking character, it has often been spoken of as "a colorless administration," and it "has not received even from the Republican press the credit to which it was justly entitled." President Hayes occupied an exceedingly difficult position, which he filled with dignity and with skill; and his influence was always exerted on the side of morality, justice, reform, good government, and sound principles of finance. It is likely that posterity will rate his administration very much higher than his contemporaries rated it.[1]

[1] Ex-President Hayes died, 1893.

388. Silver Bill. (**1878.**) — In 1870, in order to strengthen the credit of the government, Congress had made all bonds which might be refunded payable in coin, and in an act passed February 12, 1873, in which the list of coins to be issued from the national mints was revised, the old silver dollar, which had been practically out of general circulation for many years, was dropped from the coinage. Previously it had been overvalued, that is, the silver dollar was intrinsically worth more than the gold dollar; under such circumstances there was no reason for continuing its coinage. Shortly after the passage of this bill, by which silver was said to be "demonetized," that is, to be no longer a legal tender in payment of debts, the production of silver was greatly increased by the discovery of new and rich mines in Nevada and elsewhere. The effect of this increased production was to make the value of silver in comparison with gold fall rapidly and steadily. Many, at first chiefly in the western and silver producing states, now wished silver to be restored as a legal tender; and a bill known as the Bland Bill, from the name of the congressman who introduced it, was passed, providing for the recoinage of the silver dollar of 412½ grains, and making it a legal tender, also requiring the government to coin not less than $2,000,000, nor more than $4,000,000, per month. The value of silver had fallen so much by this time that silver dollars of the weight proposed would be worth only 92 cents in gold. The advocates of the bill thought that its passage would raise the value of silver. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto by more than two-thirds majority.[1]

[1] From 1784 to 1873 only 8,000,000 silver dollars had been coined altogether; the supporters of the bill hoped to have six times as many coined in a single year.

389. Railroad Strikes. (1877.) — In the summer of 1877 the most extensive strikes which had yet been seen in the country occurred among the railroad employees of the middle and some of the western states. They were started by the action of some of the railroad companies in lowering the wages of the men. In consequence, the men refused to work or to allow others to be engaged. Trains, except those carrying the United States mail, were stopped. At Philadelphia and at Baltimore prompt action by the authorities preserved order, but there were riots at Pittsburg, Chicago, St. Louis, and elsewhere. At Pittsburg the riots assumed alarming proportions; the mobs controlled the city, lives were lost, railroad stations, locomotives, cars, and large amounts of other property were destroyed, the loss being estimated at over $3,000,000. It was not until the militia were ordered out, and in some instances the United States troops, that the trouble ended. It was about two weeks before regular traffic was restored.

390. Yellow Fever in the South. (1877, 1878.) — In the summer of 1877 and of 1878 the states on the Gulf of Mexico, and also parts of adjoining states, were visited with a terrible epidemic of yellow fever; the cities of Memphis and New Orleans were the greatest sufferers. As in the case of the Chicago fire, assistance of all kinds was cheerfully sent to the afflicted cities. Yellow fever belongs to the class of so-called "filth diseases," and its spread was largely caused by the lack of sanitary regulations. Taught by this severe lesson, strict laws were enacted, and in the case of Memphis particularly, the whole city was thoroughly cleansed, new systems of drainage adopted, and a rigorous system of sanitary laws devised and carried out. This experiment has been attended with most satisfactory results.

391. Mississippi Jetties. (1875.) The Mississippi River brings down a vast amount of sediment every year; much of this falls to the bottom near the mouth of the stream, making the river shallower, impeding navigation, and also tending to make the river overflow its banks, causing great loss of property. Already two of the mouths of the Mississippi were too shallow to admit of large vessels using them, nor could the largest ships reach New Orleans even by the principal mouth. James B. Eads, of St. Louis, a civil engineer, designer of a splendid bridge across the river at St. Louis, proposed a plan to Congress, which, if followed out, he was confident would deepen the channel and at the same time keep the river within its banks better than had been possible heretofore. Congress grudgingly gave him permission to test his plan, and made an appropriation conditional upon his success, compelling him moreover to try his experiment upon the mouth or pass of the river least used and most unpromising, the South Pass. His idea was to confine the water within narrower bounds, thus making the current swifter, and so force the water not only to clear out its own channel, but to keep it cleared out, the swiftness of the current preventing much deposit of sediment. This plan had been pursued with great success with the Danube, and Captain Eads proposed to apply this "jetty system," as it is called, to the Mississippi. Within the contract time he had deepened the channel from eight to twenty feet, as he had promised, and later the channel was further deepened, so that the largest vessels can now come up to New Orleans without any difficulty.

392. Resumption of Specie Payments. (1879.) — On the 1st of January, 1879, in accordance with the act of Congress four years before (sect. 380), the Secretary of the Treasury, John

Sherman, was ready to give coin in exchange for any United States notes which might be presented for payment. So satisfied were the people that such would be the case, and so high had the credit of the government become on account of the steady payment of the debt, that the premium on gold had gradually disappeared, or, more correctly, the notes became equal to gold, and when the holders knew that they could get gold whenever they wished, no one cared to exchange the convenient representative of the metal for the heavy metal itself. The success of the operation increased the credit of the government still more, so that it was now able to borrow at a lower rate of interest than ever, and so refund a large portion of its debt with a great saving in the annual expense for interest. Loans at 6 per cent and over were called in and reissued at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 4 per cent. About $30,000,000 a year in interest was thus saved.

393. Garfield elected President. (1880.) — In the Presidential election of 1880, James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur, the Republican candidates, were elected over General Winfield S. Hancock and William H. English, the Democratic candidates. Garfield was born in Ohio, of New England parentage, in 1831. His early years were spent in great poverty, but by dint of great effort he succeeded in getting a collegiate education at Williams College, Massachusetts; he then studied law, taught, was a professor in Hiram College, Ohio, and at the outbreak of the Civil War entered the army and soon reached the rank of major-general. While in the field he was elected to Congress, and left the army, believing that he could do his country more service in the legislative body than in the field. He was representative in 1863–81. He was chosen senator in 1880 for the term beginning in 1881, and while a member of the Presidential

nominating convention, was unexpectedly chosen candidate for the Presidency, enjoying the experience, probably unique, of being representative, senator-elect, and President-elect all at the same time.

394. Assassination of Garfield; Arthur succeeds. (1881.) — No man since John Quincy Adams had been elected to the Presidency who seemed in every way better fitted for the office. His nomination was unsought, and he was untrammelled by political bargains. Much was looked for from his administration; but a disappointed office-seeker shot the President in a railroad station at Washington, July 2, 1881, as he was about leaving for a Fourth of July celebration at his old college in Massachusetts. After lingering for a little over three months, he died, September 19, at Elberon, on the New Jersey coast, where he had been removed in the vain hope of improvement. The fortitude with which he bore his suffering aroused the sympathy and admiration of the world.



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

The Vice-President had the reputation of being little more than a politician, nominated for political reasons, and many voted for him reluctantly; but his admirable deportment during the illness of the President reassured the country, and he proved himself fully worthy of the office which fell to him without the wish or expectation of the people. Arthur was born in Vermont, 1830, received a college education, taught school, and studied law; was collector of the port of New York, 1871–78, elected Vice-President, 1880, and quietly succeeded to the Presidency at Garfield's death.[1]

[1] *Ex-President* Arthur died in New York, November 11, 1886.

395. Anti-Polygamy Bill. (1882.) — Civil Service Act. (1883.) — In 1882 Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, introduced a bill into Congress, which was passed, designing to suppress polygamy, still practised by the Mormons in Utah and in the neighboring territories. A result of this act was, that in 1890 the president of the Mormon body officially stated that polygamy was to be abolished.

The death of President Garfield had attracted the attention of the people to the question of reform in the matter of appointments and removals in the public service. Ever since the time of Andrew Jackson, public offices had been considered the legitimate reward for party services; but now the people began to feel that the government business should be carried on according to business principles, and that a government clerk should not be chosen because he was a Democrat or a Republican, but because of his fitness for the position, nor should he be turned out unless for incompetency or breach of trust. President Grant, during his administration, had urged the subject upon the attention of Congress, and a bill creating a board of civil service commissioners had been passed, and appointments made under its advice; but Congress refused to continue the appropriation for its support. However, the feasibility of making appointments on the ground of fitness for the office, and not for political reasons, was demonstrated. In 1883 Congress passed the Pendleton Civil Service Act, which was approved by President Arthur. This allowed the President to appoint examiners, who were to decide upon the qualifications of the applicants for the offices, and from those shown to be qualified appointments were to be made. The provisions of the bill applied to but a few of the offices at first, but have since been extended to many more.[1]

[1] The bill was introduced by George H. Pendleton, a Democratic senator from Ohio, and was passed by votes in both houses of Congress, irrespective

Another important feature of the act was the provision that contributions shall not be solicited from the government employees for political purposes, nor may employees take an active part in political contests. As the Constitution vests the power of appointment, except for inferior offices, in the President (Art. II., sect. 2), any law respecting appointments can only be in the nature of advice; but the force of public opinion and the desire to escape the tremendous pressure for offices are likely to be sufficient to lead Presidents, at least gradually, to take advantage of the act.

396. Mississippi Floods. (1882.) — Tariff Revision. (1883.) — Attention was diverted for a time from political matters by a great disaster in the Southwest. In 1882 the Mississippi River overflowed its banks, broke through the levees, and flooded the neighboring country for miles; thousands were forced to leave their homes, and there was great suffering in consequence. There would have been many deaths from exposure and starvation had not Congress promptly authorized the War Department to furnish tents and rations.

It has been seen that one way adopted to secure part of the funds necessary for the carrying on of the Civil War had been to raise the duty on imported goods, and, at the same time, greatly to extend the list of dutiable articles. It was now eighteen years since the close of the war, a large part of the debt had been paid off, and the income of the government was much greater than its necessary payments. Many persons thought not only that taxation was too high, but that a surplus of revenue was bad for the country, as it tended to encourage extravagant appropriations by Congress. Accord-

of party. Civil service includes all lower executive offices, but not those in the army or navy. The bill does not apply to heads of departments or the *higher offices.*

ingly, it was determined to begin to make a reduction by lowering the tariff. A commission was appointed; and as a result of its work, a revision of the tariff was made in 1883, but the reductions were very slight, and little was accomplished.

397. Brooklyn Bridge. (1869–1883.) — Standard Time. (1883.) — The cities of New York and Brooklyn, practically one city in most respects, are separated by the East River, a deep stream and a great highway of commerce. Propositions had frequently been entertained for bridging it; but it had been considered too expensive and too doubtful of success to be attempted until 1869, when John A. Roebling, the civil engineer who designed the suspension bridge across the Niagara River just below the falls, undertook the work. He died before the bridge was begun; but his son, Washington A. Roebling, carried out the plans, and the great work was completed in 1883. It is one of the longest suspension bridges in the world and one of the most beautiful. It is over a mile long, is supported by wire cables more than a foot thick, and is one hundred and thirty-two feet above the water at high tide.

In 1883 the great trunk railroad companies, which had suffered much inconvenience from the different standards of time in use in different parts of the country, agreed to divide the country from east to west into four sections, as nearly equal as practicable. Throughout each section the same time was to be used, the time to be that of the meridian passing through the middle of the section. These central meridians are exactly one hour apart, and are calculated from the meridian of Greenwich, England. Thus when it is noon in New York, it is eleven o'clock in the forenoon at Chicago, which is in the next section, and so on, regardless of the actual time at

any given place. So much have railroads entered into the economy of modern civilization, that almost all persons in the country have adopted the new system, and now set their clocks and watches to agree with "railroad standard time."

398. Washington Monument Completed. (1885.) — Yorktown Celebration. (1881.) — During Arthur's administration two interesting events brought back the memory of the Forefathers' days, and illustrated the changes which have taken place in the meantime. Immediately after the death of Washington, Congress had voted to erect a monument in his honor, but it was not until nearly fifty years had passed that even the corner-stone was laid (1848). The erection of the shaft was undertaken by an association, but the work went on so slowly that the unfinished monument became a subject of ridicule. At last Congress was persuaded to make appropriations to complete the work, and it was finished and dedicated February 21, 1885. It is a simple obelisk of white marble, five hundred and fifty-five feet high, and capped with aluminum. It was a remarkable circumstance that Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, the orator who composed the oration at the time of laying the corner-stone, was still living and able to prepare that for the dedication. When the shaft was more than half done it was found that the foundation was sinking, and so it was determined to try to build a new foundation without taking down that part of the structure which had already been erected. This work, a triumph of modern engineering, was successfully accomplished under the direction of Colonel Casey, of the United States Corps of Engineers. The monument forms a striking feature of Washington city.

The other event was the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown, October 19, 1881.

The celebration was held on the spot; and, by invitation, there were present a number of the Lafayette family, and other representatives from France. One of the very pleasant features of the occasion was the participation in the exercises of the British minister and other Englishmen, thus showing how changed were the feelings from those of one hundred years before. At the close of the exercises, President Arthur gracefully ordered the British flag to be raised, that it might receive a military salute in order to show the good feeling existing between the two countries.

399. New Orleans Cotton Exhibition. (**1884.**) — There was another centennial celebration of quite another character held in New Orleans in 1884. In 1784 eight bags[1] of cotton were exported from the United States, the first shipment of the kind which had ever been made, and it was to commemorate this event that "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" was held at the greatest cotton port of the United States, — New Orleans. The eight bags of 1784 had become 3,884,233 bales in 1884, of which about 2,000,000 bales were exported from New Orleans.[2]

Interesting as the growth in the cotton industry was, the exhibition was still more instructive in showing the vast strides which the South had taken in the seventeen years which had passed since the close of the war, in agriculture, and particularly in manufactures. In 1860 south of Maryland there were hardly any manufactures to be reported in the census; in 1884 millions of dollars were invested in mills producing cotton cloth, iron, oil, flour, and many other articles, while in agriculture the production under free labor far surpassed that under slavery. The cotton crop of 1860, up

[1] The eight bags were about equal to one bale.

[2] A bale of cotton is taken as weighing about 450 pounds, though bales *vary considerably in* weight.

to that time the largest ever raised, amounted to about 5,000,000 bales, but that of 1884 was 8,000,000 bales, and in addition to this, besides a large amount of corn and wheat, the South now raised vast quantities of early fruits and vegetables, which, owing to the rapid means of transportation offered by railroads and steamship lines, found a ready market in the northern cities; and in Florida thousands of orange groves supplied the northern markets with oranges, excelling in flavor those from Italy and the West Indies, and to a very great extent displacing them.

400. Political and Social Condition of the South. (1884.) — Notwithstanding the vast increase in material prosperity in the South, it was evident that it would be a long time before the political and social condition of the freedmen and that of their descendants would be in a thoroughly satisfactory state. In South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, where the whites are in an actual minority, an especially difficult problem presents itself. In the light of recent history, few would justify the almost unlimited suffrage granted to the freedmen by the reconstruction acts of Congress. The remedy for the present state of affairs is education, and this the colored people are surely and rapidly getting. In 1866 George Peabody, the philanthropist, gave a large sum, afterwards increased to $3,500,000, in aid of education in the South; and in 1882 John F. Slater, a wealthy manufacturer *of Norwich, Connecticut*, gave $1,000,000 for the education



GEORGE PEABODY.

of the freedmen in the South. Both these large endowments are under the care of boards of management. The southern states themselves are spending large sums in the cause of education of both white and colored children, and it is fairly to be expected that the political affairs will adjust themselves gradually, as social matters are doing. One of the most striking features of the "New South" is the accumulation of property by the former slaves and their descendants. In 1865 this class may be said to have had no property; in the census of 1890 they are shown to have already become owners of $100,000,000.

401. Four Parties in Election of 1884. — In the Presidential campaign of 1884 there were four candidates in the field. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President. These nominations were unsatisfactory to a large number of the party, who claimed that they were wholly in the interest of the politicians, and not of the country. Many withdrew from the Republicans, calling themselves Independents, but were popularly named "Mugwumps."[1]

A number of these held a convention and issued a circular, calling upon those who sympathized with them to support the Democratic candidates and to persuade every one they could to do likewise.

The Democratic Convention nominated Grover Cleveland, who was governor of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President, which was entirely satisfactory to the party. A convention representing various shades of political belief, and called the Anti-Monopoly, Greenback, Labor, and People's Party, nominated General

[1] This word seems to be of North American Indian origin, and meant originally a chief, but is now used as signifying a "bolter," or an independent.

Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi. The Prohibitionists nominated Governor John P. St. John, of Kansas, and William Daniel, of Maryland. A feature of the Prohibition Convention was the presence of a number of women delegates. The platform of this party declared against any revenue being collected from the sale of alcoholic beverages and tobacco, demanded the prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating beverages where the national government had control, and that no new state should be admitted until it had by its constitution prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, and polygamy.

402. Cleveland elected; his Character. (1884–1885.) — The election which followed was so close a one outside of the state of New York that the result depended upon the vote in that state, where the two great parties were so evenly divided that several days elapsed before the facts could be determined. A condition of affairs very similar to that which had defeated Henry Clay in 1844 (sect. 257) defeated Blaine. Enough dissatisfied Republicans voted with the Democrats or with the Prohibitionists to give Cleveland the state by a small plurality, and for the first time since 1856 the Presidency fell to the Democrats.[1]

Cleveland and Hendricks were quietly inaugurated March 4, 1885. Stephen Grover Cleveland was born in New Jersey, March 18, 1837, but was taken by his father to New York in 1841. He was educated at an academy at Clinton, removed to Buffalo, studied law, was assistant district attorney, sheriff, and mayor of Buffalo. In 1882 he was elected governor of New York, which office he held, 1883–85, resigning it to assume the Presidency of the United States. He showed

[1] 1149 in a vote of 1,125,159.

himself a man of inflexible courage and uncompromising in his opinions. As mayor of Buffalo and as governor of New York, he was distinguished for the readiness with which he vetoed measures which did not commend themselves to his judgment. It was a disadvantage to him that he was without experience in congressional legislation.

403. President Cleveland. (1885.) — Acts relating to Election of President. (1886–1887.) — His probable course on assuming the duties of the Executive Chair was a matter of much interest to the friends of civil service reform. He did not disappoint them. For the first time since Andrew Jackson, there was no wholesale change of government employees; and the provisions of the Civil Service Act were carried out in respect to the offices to which it applied, in spite of the great pressure brought to bear upon the President who represented a new party in power.



GROVER CLEVELAND.

Though the Senate and the House of Representatives were controlled, one by the Republicans and the other by the Democrats, two very important acts were passed and approved by the President. (*a*) The Presidential Succession Act (1886), which provides that in the case of the death or disability of both the President and Vice-President, first the Secretary of State, and then, if necessary, the other members of the Cabinet, one after the other, shall be acting President

until the disability is removed, or a new President shall be elected at the usual time. To avoid any invidious distinction, the secretaries are named in the order in which the several departments were created: (1) Secretary of State, (2) of the Treasury, (3) of War, (4) Attorney-General, (5) Postmaster-General, (6) Secretary of the Navy, (7) Secretary of the Interior. Any of these who is constitutionally disqualified for holding the office of President is to be passed over, as well as any one who has not been confirmed as secretary by the Senate in executive session. There was no separate department of agriculture at this time, for the Secretary of Agriculture was added to the Cabinet in 1889. (*b*) The Electoral Count Act (1887), providing a method of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, which will prevent the recurrence of the difficulty which had arisen in 1876, as well as guarding against others. The aim of the act is to have disputes relative to the validity of the votes settled by state tribunals.

404. Interstate Commerce Act; Chinese Exclusion Act. (1887–1888.) — Another important act of legislation was the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), designed to regulate commerce between the various states, particularly the rates charged by railroads for passengers and freight. In many respects this is one of the most far-reaching measures ever enacted by Congress. Still another act (1888) was designed to prevent the immigration of the Chinese laborers, who were, it was contended, ruining the rates of wages for Americans, and indeed for all other laborers than themselves. It was urged that the Chinamen came to the United States with no intention of becoming citizens, but simply for the purpose of making money enough to enable them in a few years to *return to China*; that they brought no families with them,

ate little but rice, and lived in a way in which no others would be willing to live; and, moreover, that they had brought immoral customs with them, and that the whole tendency of such a community was injurious to the country in the extreme. The bill passed, with little opposition, through Congress. Some believed, however, that this act and an act of 1880, to which it was supplementary, were violations of treaty obligations with the Chinese as well as being otherwise objectionable. The matter was soon brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, which decided that the "power of the legislative departments of the government to exclude aliens from the United States is an incident of sovereignty, which cannot be surrendered by the treaty-making power." The Chinese Immigration Acts were not thoroughly effective, owing to the extreme difficulty of preventing the excluded class from being smuggled across the border from Canada, where there was no law forbidding the immigration of the Chinese.

405. Labor Troubles and Knights of Labor. — For some years there had been a growing feeling of antagonism between the laboring class and the capitalists and manufacturers. This feeling was intensified by the appearance of an increasing number of rich men, who had gained their wealth from the mines, from the oil fields, by successful speculation in railroad stocks and bonds, or in various more strictly commercial enterprises. The working-men believed that an unjust share of the products of industry went to the capitalists, and that the "rich were getting richer, and the poor poorer" all the time. They felt, and often very rightly, that the hours of labor were longer than necessary, and they had also many other grievances of varying degrees of justice. In order to enforce their demands and protect their interests, a number of labor organizations were formed at various times. Among

the most extensive of these was "The Knights of Labor," which numbered many thousands in its membership, and whose influence extended into every state in the Union. These organizations, through committees or delegates, or through both, presented the demands of the employees to the manufacturers. If the manufacturers refused the demand for higher wages, shorter hours, dismissal of objectionable fellow-workers, or change of rules, the association or "union" would order all members to cease working, or to "strike," as it is called. Frequently, when "union men" struck, they would not permit "non-union" men to take their places or to work under any circumstances. The employers, on their part, frequently made out a list, called the "black list," of those men who were likely to give trouble, and declined to give work to them. In return, the associations made use of a method introduced from Ireland, called "boycott," which is to persuade others to have nothing to do with the person disliked, decline to work or to deal with him, or to use goods manufactured by him or passing through his hands.[1] The boycott proved a powerful weapon, but, like a blade without a handle, it cut both ways, for it helped to bring about the importation of foreign laborers who were willing to work at a lower rate than native workmen, and who would be free from the labor organizations.

406. Strikes; Anarchist Riots in Chicago. (1886.) — The labor troubles were specially frequent in 1886, which has been called the year of strikes, so many of the latter having

[1] Captain Boycott was an Irishman, who became such an object of hatred to the persons among whom he lived that they refused to have anything to do with him. Inciting others to "boycott" any one with the design of injuring him, has been decided by the courts of the United States to be illegal and punishable.

taken place during that year and leading to riot. The worst of many riots took place in Chicago. Early in the spring it was estimated that 40,000 men were "on a strike" in that city alone. The disturbances culminated on May 4, when a crowd was addressed by a number of speakers who urged the most radical and violent methods of gaining their ends. On the police ordering the mob to disperse, a dynamite bomb was thrown at the officers, which exploded, killing and wounding many. In return, the body of police charged and fired upon the mob, killing and wounding a great number. The ringleaders were seized, brought to trial, four were hanged, and others imprisoned.[1] It was a relief to the country to find that all the ringleaders but one were of foreign birth, and were of that class of anarchists whose object is to overthrow all governments and to do away with all the rights of property. The working-men throughout the country disclaimed and denounced these riots.

407. Charleston Earthquake; Statue of Liberty. (1886.) — During the summer of 1886 the city of Charleston, South Carolina, was visited by a severe earthquake. Lives were lost, and many buildings were either thrown down or so shaken that they were obliged to be pulled down afterwards. The total loss was estimated at $5,000,000. Again, as in the case of the calamities at Chicago and at Boston, the suffering citizens had abundant and substantial aid from their sympathizing fellow-countrymen.

A pleasant incident of the year 1886 was the completion and dedication of the statue of "Liberty enlightening the World," presented by the French Republic to the United States, in commemoration of the old friendship between the

[1] Those still in prison were pardoned, in 1893, by the governor of Illinois, on the ground of an unfair trial.

two countries, and as an evidence of the faith of the French people in republican institutions. The bronze statue, known to every one who leaves or enters the harbor of New York, is one hundred and fifty feet high. The expense of the pedestal was contributed by the citizens of the United States. The whole structure, which is situated on Bedlow's Island, rises three hundred feet above the water. At night it is illuminated with electric light.

408. The Surplus. (1886.) — As the debt of the country decreased, the need for money decreased also, and the income was far greater than was necessary to meet the annual charges for interest and for the expenses of supporting the various departments of the government. The reduction of the tariff (1883) had amounted to little, and though the internal taxes had been removed from nearly everything except liquor and tobacco, there was still an annual surplus over expenditures of about $100,000,000. Of course it was a matter of great pride to the country to enjoy such prosperity, that it could of its own will tax itself for such a large sum and yet be scarcely conscious of a burden.

But there are vexed problems connected with a national surplus of any considerable size. First, where a financial system like the Sub-Treasury system of the United States is in vogue, there is, as has been said, no way to get the money back into circulation, except by the payment of interest, of salaries, by paying for government works, or by purchase of national bonds, often at a high rate. The first three methods are inadequate, and the last is dependent upon the willingness of the owners to part with their bonds. Secondly, a large surplus is, from the very nature of the case, difficult to expend economically and judiciously. No nation had been *able to show* such a large surplus year after year as the

United States, but men of all parties felt that the surplus was larger than was best.

409. Mills Bill; Harrison elected. (1888.) — Both of the prominent parties were bound to reduce the surplus somehow. This could be done in two ways, or by a combination of the two: (1) lessening the income, (2) increasing the expenditure, (3) lessening the income in some directions and increasing the expenditure as well. President Cleveland, following the traditions of his party, naturally decided that the true way to meet the difficulty was to reduce the income of the government, by abolishing the duty on some goods, and reducing it on others to a point which would bring about a "tariff for revenue" only. This opinion he gave to Congress in his annual message of December, 1887, in which, contrary to precedent, he confined himself to one subject, — the tariff. This action brought up the old question of free trade or protection as a decided party issue.

The House of Representatives, in response to this action, passed a tariff bill, under the name of the Mills Bill, so called from its principal author, which proposed to reduce largely the tariff on imports. The Senate, which had a Republican majority, refused to concur, and so the measure failed.

In the Presidential election of 1888, the Democrats nominated President Cleveland, with Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for Vice-President; and the Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, with Levi P. Morton, of New York, for Vice-President. The Prohibitionists nominated Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and John A. Brooks, of Missouri. The United Labor party also put candidates in the field. Little or no objection could be made to the candidates on personal grounds, and so the whole issue was on matters of public

policy. The Democrats advocated a tariff for revenue only, while the Republicans advocated a tariff for revenue and, at the same time, distinctly for "protection of home industries." As in 1884, the election was decided by the vote of New York, which, this time, gave a plurality for the Republican candidates.[1]

410. Benjamin Harrison. (1889.) — Harrison and Morton were inaugurated March 4, 1889. Benjamin Harrison, the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States (sect. 249), and the great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, the friend of Washington, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and governor of Virginia, was born in Ohio, August 20, 1833. Educated at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, he soon began the study of law. Having very moderate means, he removed to Indiana in the hope of bettering his condition, and in 1858 he was the reporter to the Supreme Court of that state. In 1861 he entered the army at the head of a regiment, and in 1865 he rose to the rank of brevet brigadier-general. At the close of the war he returned to his home in Indianapolis and resumed his law practice. In 1880 he was elected United States senator, and served the full term of six years. While in the



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

[1] Every northern and western state, except Connecticut and New Jersey, declared for the Republican ticket, and every southern state for the Democratic ticket; so, again, there was a "solid South." Texas gave Cleveland the large plurality of 146,000, while in South Carolina the total vote for all candidates was 13,000 less than it had been in 1884, and 91,000 less than in *1880.*

Senate he supported civil service reform and a protective tariff and opposed "greenback" legislation.

As under the administration of Cleveland, those holding offices to which the civil service applies, were not displaced; but, as under previous administrations also, many, particularly in the Post-Office Department, were either removed or not reappointed when their terms expired.

411. Oklahoma; Washington Centennial. (**1889.**) — One of the earliest acts of the new administration was the opening of the territory of Oklahoma to white settlers. This tract of 39,030 square miles was situated in the midst of the Indian Territory. There was a rush to the new territory to take up claims under the land laws, but by proclamation of the President, any one entering the district before noon of April 22, 1889, would never be allowed to acquire any rights therein. At midday the horde of eager aspirants rushed across the line, claims were staked out with marvellous rapidity, and towns of tents or rough board shanties sprang up like magic. In about five months, Guthrie, the principal town, had a population of 4000, several banks, four daily papers, and lines of street-cars. In 1890 the population of the new territory was 61,834. These lands were bought from the Creek and Seminole Indians, and opened to settlers by act of Congress March 2, 1889. Great numbers of negroes went to Oklahoma.

An imposing celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington at New York, April 30, 1789, was held in that city April 29–30, 1889; the President and the Cabinet and a large representation of the army and navy, as well as of citizens, taking part in it.

412. Johnstown Flood; Four New States. (**1889–1890.**) — One of the most terrible disasters which has ever been

known in the country took place at Johnstown, central Pennsylvania, May 31, 1889. A large dam on the Conemaugh River gave way, and a column of water nearly half a mile wide and forty feet high swept down the valley towards the town with amazing rapidity; it is said to have traversed a distance of eighteen miles in fifteen minutes. Almost without a moment's warning villages and houses were carried away; even an express passenger railroad train was unable to get away from the flood, and was overtaken with destruction. The flood swept on to Johnstown, a busy manufacturing town, which was almost completely destroyed. About 2200 persons are thought to have lost their lives, many whole families being swept out of existence, and property valued at $10,000,000 was destroyed or rendered worthless. Again were contributions quickly and liberally made to aid the sufferers.

During the last few days of the preceding administration, Congress had authorized the admission of four new states, which, having fulfilled the required conditions, were admitted to the Union by proclamations of the President in the fall of 1889. They were North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Idaho and Wyoming were admitted in July, 1890, and Utah in January, 1896, making the number of states forty-five.



FLAG OF UNITED STATES. 1896.

413. Pan-American Congress. (1889–1890.) — In the autumn of 1889 a congress of representatives from the principal independent nations of America began its sessions at Washington. *This* Pan-American Congress, as it was named, was

held, at the invitation of the United States, for "the purpose of recommending some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between them [the states of both American Continents], and of considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse, and means of direct communication between said countries." The congress made sundry recommendations, the most important of which is that "the republics of North, Central, and South America adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of all differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between them." The members of this congress, during the session, spent six weeks in visiting the principal cities of the United States.[1]

414. "Filibustering" in Congress; Quorum. (1890.) — Great complaints had long been made of the dilatoriness of Congress in matters of legislation, and, from time to time, various measures had been adopted to expedite the vast and increasing business to be acted upon by Congress, but there still remained much to do in this direction. One of the ways of "filibustering," as it was called, to prevent the passage of bills in the House of Representatives, was to refuse to vote upon a measure, and when the record of the clerk showed that less than a majority voted on the bill, to raise the point of order that no quorum was present, and then demand the calling of the roll. As this operation occupies considerable time and can be repeated almost indefinitely, it is quite possible for a comparatively small number to block legislation almost without limit.

[1] The congress consisted of sixty-six members. Haiti, Nicaragua, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, Argentine Republic, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Brazil, Honduras, Mexico, Bolivia, United States, Venezuela, Chile, Salvador, and Equador were represented. The congress adjourned April 19, 1890.

The fifty-first Congress met in 1889, with a Republican majority in each house, and Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was elected Speaker, and during this Congress radical changes were made in the rules of the House of Representatives designed to stop filibustering; the most important being as to what constituted a quorum. It was decided that all members present, whether voting or not, should be counted (sect. 418).

415. McKinley Tariff; Reciprocity; Pension Bill. (1890.) — The Republicans, having control of both houses of Congress, were in a good position to enact measures in accord with the principles of the party, as the Executive was also Republican. The most important and far-reaching of the measures enacted were two: (1) A new tariff bill. This, after a very long discussion, passed both houses and became a law October 6, 1890. Called from the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who reported it, the "McKinley Bill," few measures have called forth more discussion. It was based on the principle of protecting American industries. It reduced the revenue by admitting sugar, except a few grades, free, and while reducing the rate of duty on many articles, and adding largely to the free list, it also increased the duty on other articles for the express purpose of protecting and stimulating American products and manufactures. A provision was also introduced by which articles otherwise free were to be dutiable, if the country from which they came levied duties on American products. This was known as the "reciprocity measure." (2) A pension bill vastly extending the list of pensioners. While the provisions of this act do not differ materially from those of the acts pensioning the veterans of the War of the Revolution, of 1812, and of the Mexican War, the vast number to receive compensation under the act made the measure *one of great importance*. It is estimated that the average

annual charge to the country will be for some years more than $150,000,000. No other nation has ever attempted to reward its soldiers and sailors to a like extent.[1]

416. Republican Defeat; Farmers' Alliance. (1890.)—Shortly after the passage of the McKinley Bill, the elections for the members of the fifty-second Congress were held and the Republicans met a crushing defeat at the polls, the Democrats changing a minority of 21 into a majority of 135. The enormous appropriations of the fifty-first Congress, doubts of the wisdom of the Pension Bill, and fears of a probably increased cost of living, due to the McKinley Tariff Bill, helped to bring about this political revolution. It was also due, to some extent, to the direct and indirect influence of an organization, which, though not at first political in its character, had much influence upon voters, and in 1890 began to make itself felt as a political power. This was known as The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Its objects were mutual improvement and the furtherance of the interests of farmers. The first alliance appears to have been in New York about 1873, and by 1889 the various state organizations were united into a national body, which in 1890 claimed a membership of about 2,000,000.

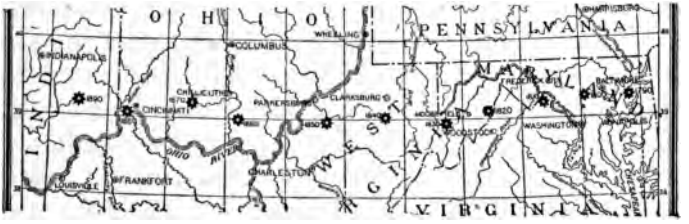
417. Legislation of 1890–1891. — Among the important legislation during 1890 was (1) a bill designed to put a stop to lotteries by forbidding the transportation through the mails of advertisements and prospectuses of lottery companies, and

[1] "All the [former] Confederate states either grant pensions to disabled or helpless ex-Confederate soldiers, or have soldiers' homes"; Maryland and Missouri have soldiers' homes. The amount appropriated is necessarily small. In this way they contribute to the support of both of the old armies. The total amount contributed for this purpose was, in 1892, over a million dollars.

also of mail matter addressed to them;[1] (2) a bill to provide for the inspection of salt pork or bacon before exportation, and to prevent the importation of diseased cattle and other animals, and of adulterated food; (3) a bill for the increase of the navy by authorizing the construction of large war vessels; (4) an act modifying the Interstate Commerce Act (sect. 404) so as to give each state authority to regulate the sale of goods brought into it, even though they might be in "original packages"; (5) a bill known as the Sherman Act, to modify the Bland Act (sect. 388), by providing that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase, at market price, not exceeding a certain limit, 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly, and issue in payment of such purchases notes redeemable in coin; (6) a bill to provide for an international exhibition to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. After considerable discussion, Chicago was selected as the place for the exhibition to be held, and as it would be impracticable to have everything in readiness by the anniversary, the actual opening was fixed for May, 1893. Another act (1891) was the one providing for international copyright; by this bill foreign authors, musical composers, and a few others, are under certain conditions given the benefit of copyright for their works in the United States. Before the passage of this act, any one in America could reprint any foreign work without payment to the author. While many American publishers voluntarily paid authors something, the amounts were necessarily small, for there was nothing to prevent others from also republishing a book and offering it at a lower price.

[1] The Louisiana Lottery Company tested the constitutionality of this act, but the Supreme Court confirmed it. The issue of the next election for governor in Louisiana was the lottery question, and the company was again *defeated.*

418. Census of 1890; Fifty-second Congress. (1891.) — Late in the year the Census Bureau reported the population of the United States to be 62,622,250, a gratifying increase over the census of 1880 (Appendix VI.). Congress, in a few weeks, passed a reapportionment act, making the number of the House of Representatives 356 (Appendix VIII.). The census also showed that the centre of population had moved westward, during the preceding ten years, forty-eight miles.



CENTRE OF POPULATION.

The fifty-second Congress met December, 1891, with an overwhelming Democratic majority of 135 in the House of Representatives. Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, was elected Speaker, and the House refused to adopt the rules made by its predecessor (sect. 414).

419. Difficulty with Italy. (1890.) — In the fall of 1890 the chief of police of the city of New Orleans was shot and killed by assassins believed to be Italians, whose ill-will he had incurred. A number of men were arrested and tried for the murder, or for abetting it. On the trial six were acquitted, and in the case of three others a mis-trial was entered. Popular feeling was greatly stirred in regard to the matter, and it was almost universally believed that the jury had been bribed. On March 14, 1891, a mob broke into the jail and

lynched eleven Italians confined there, including those who had been on trial as well as two who had been acquitted by direction of the judge. The Italian government, on the ground that the murdered men were Italian subjects, at once, through its minister at Washington, protested, and subsequently demanded reparation. The Secretary of State replied that, while the United States government greatly regretted the occurrence, the punishment of the offenders rested with the Louisiana authorities, and that the United States would not guarantee an indemnity. On this the Italian minister took his departure, and it seemed for a time as if war might result, but the affair was settled, in 1892, by the United States government offering, out of good-will, to compensate the families of the three or four victims who were shown to be Italian citizens, and diplomatic relations were shortly after resumed by Italy.

420. Trouble with Chile; Bering Sea. (1891.) — A revolution in Chile occurred during 1891, and soon after some sailors from a war vessel of the United States were attacked in the streets of Valparaiso by a mob, and two were killed and others roughly handled. The government of the United States demanded reparation, and for some time it seemed as if serious trouble between the two nations would result, but calmer counsels prevailed, and after a time the difficulty was peacefully settled.

Another international episode relates to the extreme north, where, owing to the wholesale slaughter of seals in Bering Sea, which threatened to exterminate that valuable animal in a short time, the United States government determined to interfere, and claiming that, under the privileges which were acquired from Russia when Alaska was bought, the United *States had the* right to consider Bering Sea as under her

control, at least so far as the seals were concerned, began to seize vessels catching seals, and to confiscate the skins found on them. As many of the "seal poachers" were from Canada, the British government remonstrated, denying the jurisdiction claimed by the United States. After much diplomatic correspondence a treaty was concluded, providing for the arbitration of the matters in dispute, — another triumph for the principle of settling international disputes by arbitration.

421. Ballot Reform. (1888–1892.) — But there were internal matters of great interest taking place as well. Partly the result of the elections of 1888, and partly the result of a slow growth in popular feeling, there was a general demand through the country for a reform in the methods of conducting popular elections. This feeling, too strong to be ignored, forced one state legislature after another to pass ballot-reform laws, which, to a greater or less degree, removed occasions for fraud and gave better opportunity for the secrecy of the ballot, so increasing the independence of the voter. By the time of the election of 1892 thirty-seven states had adopted some modification of the Australian ballot, so called because the system was first brought into use in Australia. This most important reform was supported by each of the great parties.

422. Homestead Labor Troubles. (1892.) — One of the most serious labor troubles that the country has yet experienced took place in the summer of 1892, at Homestead, near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. The trouble arose between the employees in the large iron works at that place and the owners. This trouble was greatly aggravated by the owners employing a private force of men to protect their property. These men were fired upon as they approached the town, and were

forced to surrender. So great was the disturbance, that the governor of the state was obliged to call out the whole militia of the state to preserve order. The strike spread among the iron workers of Pittsburg and the neighboring places until several thousands are said to have been "on strike." Fortunately, there was no collision between the troops and the strikers, but it was some weeks before quiet was assured and the troops withdrawn. The expense to the state was great, and the loss to the workers and to the company was millions of dollars, and worse than all, a fair and amicable adjustment of the claims of labor and capital was in no way helped on.

423. Columbian Exposition. (1892.) — In many of the large cities the anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated by great processions and military and naval demonstrations; some of these were very imposing. In very many of the schools, both public and private, throughout the land, "Columbus Day" was also celebrated by raising of flags, singing, recitations, and speech-makings. From the 21st to the 23d of October, the formal dedication ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago took place, in the presence of thousands of spectators (sect. 430).

424. Republican and Democratic Platforms. (1892.) — As the time for a new Presidential election came round, it was evident that the independent voters, whose numbers would be greatly increased by the adoption of the Australian ballot, and also the rank and file of the parties, were likely to exercise more influence than heretofore. This was shown in the selection of candidates. The Republican Convention renominated Benjamin Harrison, and selected Whitelaw Reid, of New York, as candidate for Vice-President. The platform *reaffirmed the* "American doctrine of protection," upheld the

McKinley Tariff Bill and the reciprocity measures under it, and praised the policy and actions of the Republican party generally. The Democratic Convention nominated ex-President Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois. The platform denounced the attempts of the Republicans to bring about Federal control of elections, the system of protection in general, and the McKinley Bill in particular, and recommended the removal of the tax on state-bank issues of paper money. The money "plank" in both platforms was practically the same, each upholding the use of both gold and silver as currency, and demanding that all dollars issued by the government, whether gold, silver, or paper, should be kept of equal value. The only important difference between the two platforms was in the tariff "plank" and in the recommendation of the removal of the tax on the bank-bills of state banks.

425. Prohibition, and People's Platform. (1892.) — The Prohibition party for the sixth time put candidates in the field, choosing John Bidwell, of California, and J. B. Cranfill, of Texas. The platform, in addition to the Prohibition "plank," among other things, advocated woman suffrage, equal wages without respect to sex, increase in the amount of the circulating medium, and that revenue should be raised by levying a burden upon what the people possess, instead of upon what they consume. All who believed in Prohibition were invited to "full party fellowship."

There was also a new party formed, whose adherents were mostly in the West. This was the People's party, or the "Populists'" party, an outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance (sect. 416). Its platform, after a general condemnation of the two great political parties of the country, advocated the union of the labor forces of the United States, the loaning of money

by the government to its citizens at two per cent interest, a national currency, "free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one," increase of the circulating medium, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, and prohibition of alien ownership of land. Resolutions were also passed condemning subsidies by the government and the protective system, and others commending the Australian system of voting, the enforcement of the eight-hour law in government work, the election of United States senators by a popular vote, and other reforms of various kinds. The convention nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, who had been candidate of the Greenback party in 1880, and James G. Field, of Virginia.

426. Democrats Successful. (1892.) — The campaign was the least exciting one that had taken place for a long time, and was marked by the absence of personalities, and by the great stress laid upon matters of public policy. The two chief candidates had each occupied the position of President, the fitness of each was known, and the personal character of each valued and appreciated, and there was a very general feeling that, whichever should be elected, the interests of the nation would be looked after conscientiously and with ability. The result was the choice of the Democratic candidates by a large majority of the electoral votes. The Democrats also retained the control of the House of Representatives, though with a much reduced majority, and gained control of the Senate as well. The People's party developed unexpected strength, choosing one or more Presidential electors in several states, besides congressmen.

Among the important measures passed by the fifty-second *Congress* were a national quarantine bill, an immigration bill



imposing additional restrictions upon immigration, and a bill providing that, by a certain date, all railroad cars should be provided with automatic safety couplers.

427. Second Inauguration of Cleveland; Bering Sea Case. (1893.) — The inauguration of Cleveland and Stevenson took place on the 4th of March, and for the first time since 1861 the Democrats controlled all branches of the government.

A very pleasant feature of the transfer of the chief government offices to the new incumbents was the courteous manner in which it was done, and the kindly good feeling shown on both sides. The large number of government employees under the civil service rules, and to whom a change of party rule was no longer a vital question, somewhat diminished the number of office-seekers, though the number was much greater than had been expected by the friends of reform.

The Bering Sea case (sect. 420) had been referred to seven arbitrators, and they, after a most patient and careful consideration of the matters submitted to them, decided, in August, 1893, against the claim of the United States, to the exclusive jurisdiction of the seals beyond three miles from shore. But the tribunal made such stringent provisions, binding upon both Great Britain and the United States, for the protection of the seals, that, while failing technically, the United States gained the real point at issue, — the protection of the valuable fur-bearing animals. So "again has arbitration been successfully applied to questions which diplomacy confessed itself unable to solve. Formerly such a juncture meant war." [1]

[1] Though these regulations apply only to Great Britain and the United States, it is expected that they will be sufficient to stop most of the destructive sealing.

428. "Silver" Legislation; Financial Distress; Elections. (**1893.**) — There was a very general feeling, particularly in the eastern and central states, that the "Sherman Act" of 1890 (sect. 417), by its clause requiring the regular monthly purchase by the Treasury of silver bullion, was greatly injurious to the financial interests of the country. President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to meet in August, 1893, and recommended the repeal of the bill. The fifty-third Congress met at the time appointed, organized by the re-election of Charles F. Crisp as Speaker, and after several weeks' discussion, mostly in the Senate, passed an act repealing the "compulsory purchase clause."

The business situation of the country during the greater part of the year 1893 was very gloomy, and not since 1873 were there so many failures and such financial depression. Uncertainty as to the character and amount of the tariff legislation to be expected from the new Congress aggravated the troubles. It was not at all surprising under these circumstances that, as is so often the case, the party in power suffered.

The state elections of 1893 resulted in overwhelming successes for the Republicans. In New Jersey, and particularly in New York, the friends of reform were greatly encouraged by the crushing defeat at the polls of the candidates nominated and supported by the political "rings."

429. Hawaii. (**1893.**) — A revolution in Hawaii took place January 14, 1893. Two days later a large public meeting denounced the queen and her advisers, and the "Committee of Safety," it is said, requested the protection of the United States; accordingly a detachment of troops was landed from a United States cruiser, it is claimed, to preserve peace and order *and protect* American interests. The next day a "Provisional

Government" was organized and set up, "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." The queen submitted under protest, and the government was recognized by the United States minister and other foreign representatives. Commissioners were sent to negotiate a treaty of annexation with the United States. Such a treaty was negotiated and sent to the Senate for confirmation February 15, but was not acted upon before the expiration of Harrison's term of office. On March 6, President Cleveland withdrew the treaty, and then sent a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate and report. Shortly after the commissioner reached Hawaii he declared the protectorate established by the American minister at an end, and ordered the United States flag, which had been raised over the government building, to be removed.

On the return of the commissioner to the United States with his report, a new minister was sent out with instructions intended to restore, if possible, the queen to her former position, on the ground that it was the illegal use of United States troops which had brought success to the revolutionists.[1] Late in the year Congress requested information and papers relative to the matter from the President, which he sent, practically acknowledging the failure to settle the difficulties by diplomatic means, and leaving affairs in the hands of Congress. The year closed with little further light upon the matter, and nothing accomplished.

430. Close of the Columbian Exposition. (1893.) — The success of the Exposition at Chicago (sect. 423) far exceeded

[1] United States troops had previously been used in Hawaii to preserve order in 1874, and during the former administration of President Cleveland in 1889. Annexation also was nearly accomplished in 1854, under President Pierce.

anticipations. A foreign visitor expresses the general opinion in saying: "Only those who have seen it can justly appreciate how far this latest of international exhibitions has surpassed all its predecessors in size, in splendor, and in greatness, both of conception and of execution." Probably the most striking feature of the exhibition was the excellent situation combining land and water advantages. The manner in which these features were utilized was most admirable, and the architectural skill displayed in the buildings, united great beauty of design and execution with adaptation to required needs. The attendance was over twenty-seven millions, more than double that of the Centennial Exhibition (sect. 381).

CHAPTER XX.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY CONDITIONS.

REFERENCES.

Note. — The volumes of Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia contain the most accessible accounts of recent events; the "Record of Current Events" in the Review of Reviews is a brief monthly chronicle; the annual issues of the Tribune and World Almanacs (New York) are rich in political, statistical, and general information.

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431. Interstate Emigration; Foreign Immigration. — During the years which we have been considering, many important movements have been going on in the country, some so silently as hardly to attract notice, while others have claimed attention from time to time. Among the most important of these has been the great westward march of emigrants within the country, made possible by the construction not only of the great trunk railroads, but also of the numerous branch roads, which, like small arteries, have carried population far and wide. This native emigration has in the main been along the parallels of latitude.

A greater movement has also been in progress. It is the habit of historians, and rightly so, to speak of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the "period of colonization"; but the colonization of the last half of the nineteenth century has been on a vastly greater scale. Since 1820 there have been landed in the United States over sixteen millions of immigrants,[1] more than one-third of these having come during the ten years ending June 30, 1890. For the last few years the average annual increase of population from this source has been over half a million. Most of these immigrants have been of great advantage to the country, and they have adapted themselves to their new conditions of life in a wonderful manner, but their influence on the country of their adoption has not had that attention which it deserves. Settling, as many of them have done, in communities, mostly in the western states, preserving their language, and to some extent, their customs, it was impossible for the social, political, and industrial conditions of life in America not to be modified by their influence. To a certain degree this statement is true of every part of the country where foreign immigrants have settled.

[1] From 1820 to June 30, 1893, 16,443,823.

432. Urban Population. — Another movement which has been silently going on is the increase of the population living in cities and built-up towns; according to the census of 1890 nearly one-third of the total population being urban (Appendix vi.). This increase has been almost wholly in the North Atlantic States[1] and the Northern Central States,[2] and it is due to several causes, chiefly the rapid extension of manufactures and commerce, both of which require compact living.

In the South and in most of the western states the urban population is relatively small.

433. Irrigation; Forest Reservations. — West of a line nearly corresponding to the 100th meridian west from Greenwich the territory of the United States, except in northern California and the western portions of Oregon and Washington, is arid or semi-arid, the natural rainfall not being sufficient to support agricultural crops. For a long period a large part of this region was spoken of as the "Great American Desert," and the "bad lands," and it was regarded as uninhabitable. The example of the Mormons in Utah, and of a few others elsewhere, showed that water was the only thing needed, and that if this could be introduced, the problem of cultivating and inhabiting the arid region was solved. Already large tracts of California, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, and other portions of the region have been brought into rich cultivation by means of more or less extensive systems of irrigation. The extent of territory which the existing water supplies will irrigate is as yet very uncertain.

The acts of Congress establishing the Yosemite, the

[1] The New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; to which should be added Delaware and Maryland.

[2] Of these it has been mostly in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri.

Sequoia, and the Yellowstone National parks, were highly approved of by the people, and widely known. An act passed in 1891, which attracted very little attention, was that providing for a series of national forest reservations, which already aggregate about twenty thousand square miles, an area nearly three times as great as the state of Massachusetts. Though they vary in size, they average about a million acres each. The object of this act is to preserve the forests and to guard the sources of the rivers and streams, so important for the welfare of the country, and essential for the permanence of the systems of irrigations rapidly being introduced. Few recent actions of Congress are likely to have such valuable and far-reaching results.

434. Natural Gas. — The fact that inflammable gas was generated in the earth has long been known. As early as 1824, on the occasion of Lafayette's visit to this country, a house in Fredonia, New York, was illuminated by natural gas in his honor. At various places in Pennsylvania and Ohio this product was also made use of. But it was not until 1875 that it was used in making steel. Its adoption was slow. During the year 1878, while a well for oil was being sunk near Pittsburg, the whole apparatus was suddenly blown up, and great quantities of gas continued to escape from the opening. Pipes were laid from the well and the gas ignited, but no practical application was attempted for five years, when it was successfully used in the production of steel. In 1884 it was introduced through long pipes into Pittsburg, where it was employed for all domestic and manufacturing purposes for which heat or light is needed. Many other wells were sunk in the Pittsburg district. At various other places between the Alleghanies and the Rockies *reservoirs of gas* have been discovered by deep borings, and the

gas has been extensively used. Whether the supply will last for many years is quite problematical, as already in many wells the pressure has greatly diminished.

435. Invention; Transportation; Inland Commerce. — The advance in the practical application of scientific knowledge has continued to be very great. This is particularly true in regard to electricity, which is now used for illuminating purposes and for power in a manner not before dreamed of. Thomas A. Edison, among others, has contributed greatly to this advance by his various discoveries and inventions. To him also is due the phonograph, an instrument by which sounds are recorded and reproduced at pleasure. Improvements in all branches of labor-saving machinery have also been numerous. The variety of goods manufactured has been greatly increased, and the beauty and excellence of the products have kept pace with the production.

Nowhere has the growth of the country been more apparent than in the amount of the freight carried by the railroads, and in inland traffic on the rivers and great lakes, which latter now exceeds in value and importance and in tonnage the foreign commerce. The tonnage which now passes through the Sault Sainte Marie Canal, which joins Lake Superior and Huron, and is open only seven months of the year, is double the tonnage which passes through the Suez Canal during twelve months; while in the year 1889 the amount of "freight passing Detroit was twice as great as the foreign trade of New York, and over two-thirds that for all our seaports together." The increase in the mileage of the railroads, the improvements in the facilities for transportation, in the efficiency of the motive power, and in the character of both the freight and passenger service, as well as in strength of the rails, stability of the roadbed and bridges,

and in the elegance and size of the terminal stations, all have been great.

436. The New South; the Pacific Coast. — While the whole country has partaken of the growth and development, in few parts of the land has there been such material advance as in the South. It is indeed "a New South." Where years ago nothing was produced in quantity but cotton, tobacco, and naval stores, now iron, coal, and phosphate rock are mined in large quantities, and cotton and iron mills have sprung up in many places, while oranges from Florida, and green vegetables from Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Mississippi, and Virginia are sent north in carloads. Notwithstanding this diversity of interests, the cotton crop of 1891 was nearly double that of 1860; while from the cotton seed, which in former days was thrown away, and of which there is about one ton for every two bales of cotton, valuable oil is pressed, and the cake which is left is used as food for cattle or as a fertilizer. New lines of railroad have been opened, and thereby easy and rapid communication with other parts of the Union secured. Thousands of travellers annually visit Florida and the health resorts abundant in the highlands of Georgia and the Carolinas.

On the Pacific coast the growth and development have been great also. In southern California the production of grapes, oranges, lemons, figs, nuts, raisins, plums, and fruit generally has attained large proportions, and the native grown product is rapidly driving the European out of the market. The climate of southern California, on account of its great salubrity, attracts many visitors in search of health or pleasure. Oregon and particularly Washington have rapidly increased in population, and have become large exporters of *agricultural* and other products.

437. Education. — But a nation's growth and development should not only be on political and material lines, but on intellectual, social, and religious lines as well. It has been impracticable to do much more than to refer to these subjects from time to time; but we have seen how deeply impressed the early colonists were with the importance of giving their children and youth a good education; how with this object in view schools and colleges were established in various colonies, some of which, as the Collegiate School in New York City, founded in 1633 by the Dutch, the Boston Latin School, founded in 1635, and the William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, founded in 1689, still flourish and attest the foresight and wisdom of the forefathers. As each new state has come into the Union, the education of the youth has claimed the serious and careful attention of her legislators, systems of education embracing schools, high schools, and colleges have been established in almost every commonwealth, and the people have cheerfully taxed themselves to support them. Not only has public support been ungrudgingly bestowed, but private benefactions have been unexampled. In no country have there been nobler foundations than those of Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore (1876); Tulane University, New Orleans (1884); Bryn Mawr College for Women, near Philadelphia (1885); Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts (1889); Leland Stanford, Jr., University, California (1891); Chicago University (1892). There have also been many endowments of professorships in colleges, and many new academies, high schools, and industrial and technical schools founded; among the latter are Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, and Drexel Institute, Philadelphia. The facilities for the higher education of women have been greatly extended; most of the colleges and universities of the western states have been coeducational from their foun-

dation; eastern colleges are slowly opening their doors to women, while Vassar (1866), Smith (1871), Wellesley (1875), and Bryn Mawr (1885), all founded by private beneficence, offer educational advantages of the highest grade exclusively to women. In connection with education, there has been since 1889 great interest in what is known as University Extension, the object of which is to spread education more widely by means of lectures, courses of reading, classes, and examinations. Nor should the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle be omitted. This association was organized in 1878, for the "purpose of promoting habits of reading and study in nature, art, science, and in secular and sacred literature in connection with the routine of daily life." Studies are carried on under the direction of competent teachers by means of correspondence, aided by the mutual interchange of views by those who are pursuing similar courses of reading or study in any given neighborhood. In the summer, instruction is given on the delightful shores of Chautauqua Lake in western New York, and at other places. Summer schools are also held at various places, chiefly for the benefit of teachers, or for purposes of special research or instruction.

The importance of the physical training of the body has also been fully recognized, and great attention has been paid to the subject; large and thoroughly equipped gymnasiums have been erected for the purpose of carrying out exercises carefully arranged, with the intention not only of developing the physical powers, but of remedying defects also.

438. Libraries; Associations. — The desire to spread and to increase knowledge has also been shown by the increase in the number of general and special libraries, and by the great pains which have been taken to devise and carry out those *systems* of library administration best calculated to encour-

age and facilitate reading and study. Many libraries have been founded by private beneficence, such as the Newberry Library, Chicago; the Astor Library, New York; and the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore. Others have been started or supported by the people, as the Public Libraries of Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts, and of Cincinnati and many other places.

The spirit of investigation has shown itself from time to time in the United States by the formation of many societies whose purpose is to encourage study and research by publishing reports, by mutual interchange of views, and in other ways. The oldest of these, the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743, is still in active operation. Another body, the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1848), holding its annual meeting at a different place each year, has done much to increase local interest in the subjects brought before it.

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington founded in accordance with the bequest of a wealthy Englishman, is almost a government institution; it has done much to further the advancement of science by the publication and distribution of scientific books and papers.

Since 1876 the increase in the number of associations formed for the encouragement of special lines of research is remarkable, and nearly all branches of knowledge are represented.

439. Literature. — During the earlier years of the American colonies there was little time to devote to anything which was not obviously practical in its application, and consequently the purely literary man was almost unknown. To the colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries two subjects, however, were of transcendent importance, — religion and politics; and works on these two subjects were

abundant, particularly in the field of politics. The political pamphlets and addresses issued from the colonial press of the eighteenth century are not surpassed in vigor by those published in England, or, indeed, upon the continent of Europe, during the same period. The names of John Dickinson, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and George Washington are deservedly held in high esteem for their writings in this field.

General literature was at a low ebb for a long time, and it was not until Charles Brockden Brown published his novels during the last years of the eighteenth century, that there was much indication of a literature that could be called American. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), with his "Thanatopsis" (1817), was the forerunner of poets soon to follow. The founding of *The North American Review* (1815) was also an indication of a change. James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), who published his first novel in 1821, showed not only that America could produce writers, but that in the new world were scenes and characters admirably fitted for their pen. Washington Irving (1783–1859), by his graceful essays and sketches and his pure English, did much to raise the estimation in which American literature was held, both at home and abroad. About 1840 new writers came into prominence: among them Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), whose works are *familiar* the land over, and also John Greenleaf Whittier



EDGAR A. POE.

(1807–1892), the Quaker poet, whose ballads and poems of nature are truly American in subject and in sympathy. Oliver Wendell Holmes (born in 1809), the genial essayist, humorist, and poet; James Russell Lowell (1819–1891), the satirist, the critic, and the poet; Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864), America's greatest romancer; Edgar Allan Poe (1811–1849), the author of weird poems and romances; Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), the philosopher, poet, and essayist, — showed that in purely literary work America was accomplishing much. George Bancroft (1800–1891), with his History of the United States, the first volume of which was published in 1834; William H. Prescott (1796–1859), with his histories of the Spanish power in Spain and in the New World; Richard Hildreth (1807–1865), with his History of the United States; John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877), with his works on the Netherlands; Francis Parkman (1823–1893), with his series of volumes on "France and England in North America," besides many other writers, — show that in the field of historical research the writers of America take a high



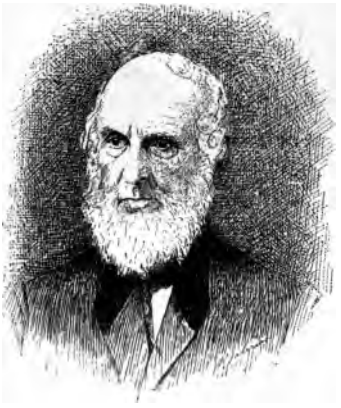
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.

rank. It would be equally true to make similar statements in regard to all departments of knowledge, in all of which the writers of America now take their stand alongside of those of Europe.

One of the striking features of the recent literature of the United States is the appearance of many able writers in the southern states who have entered every field and whose novels and dialect stories are written in a style peculiarly their own.



JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The magazines of the United States, of which *Harper's*, *The Century*, and *Scribner's* are examples, lead the world in beauty of execution and of illustration, and largely through the encouragement of their publishers the American wood-engraver has attained a position unsurpassed.

The newspapers of America have multiplied wonderfully, and their scope has been widened until in the daily press almost every subject that is likely to interest readers is treated of by specialists, while at the same time no pains or expense is spared to furnish the latest and most accurate news. The great dailies of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston are marvels of enterprise.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS; POLITICS; DIPLOMACY.

REFERENCES.

General. — Appleton's Annual Cyclopædias; E. B. Andrews, The History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States, 1870–1895, finely illustrated (this work is a panorama of events rather than a history); The Statesman's Year Book; The Tribune Almanacs; The World Almanacs; Review of Reviews; Current History; Political Science Quarterly, Review of Political Events in June and December of each year; the current periodicals.

440. Wilson Bill; Senate Bill. (**1894.**) — A part of the Democratic programme after the success in the elections of 1892 (Sect. 426) was the revision of the tariff. At the first session of the fifty-third Congress William L. Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced a new Tariff Bill, called "An Act to Reduce Taxation and Provide Revenue for the Government, and for Other Purposes." Its important features were the extensive use of the principle of *ad valorem* duties,[1] the general reduction in rates, and a tax on all incomes exceeding $4000. When the act came before the Senate it was discussed at length, and was very much altered. This "Senate Bill," as it is properly called, was finally accepted by the House of Representatives. The President was unwilling to veto the bill, and thus leave the McKinley tariff in force, and yet he could not sign it without approving measures against which

[1] Duties levied according to the value of the goods.

he had spoken strongly. He accordingly allowed the bill, which was pleasing to few, to become a law without his signature (Constitution, Art. 1, Sect. 7 (2)). The Supreme Court decided that the income tax was unconstitutional, so the expected receipts from this tax were cut off, and the revenues of the government fell below the expenditures.

441. Pullman and Railroad Strikes; Coal Miners' Strikes. (1894.) — There were many labor troubles in 1894. A strike begun by the employees of the great car works at Pullman, a suburb of Chicago, was one of the most serious that has occurred in the United States. The Pullman Company was urged by a committee of the men, and by many outsiders, some of them prominent citizens, to submit the question at issue to arbitration, but refused, saying, "The Company has nothing to arbitrate." Many of the men were members of the "American Railway Union," an organization of railroad employees. This union made the cause of the strikers its own, and passed a resolution that unless the Pullman Company would agree to arbitrate, all members of the Union should, after a certain date, refuse to handle Pullman cars or any trains of which Pullman cars formed a part. The company declined to recede from its position; the "boycott" of its cars began, and soon became widespread, as the railroad companies refused to stop running Pullman cars. Nearly every railroad west of the State of Ohio was more or less affected. The stoppage of trains obstructed the carrying of the mails, and interfered with interstate commerce. The injunctions of the United States courts requiring the strikers to cease this interference were disregarded, and the President sent troops from the regular army for the purpose of restoring the mail service and enforcing federal laws. Meanwhile, in spite of the

presence of state and federal troops and the police, an angry crowd destroyed property, demolished railroad cars, and tore up or rendered useless miles of railroad track. Conflicts took place between the troops and the crowd, and a number of lives were lost. Some of the officers of the American Railway Union were sent to jail for refusing to obey the orders of the courts. At length the strike came to an end, but the losses resulting from the troubles were many millions of dollars.[1]

Earlier in the year a strike begun by the coke-burners in Pennsylvania spread to the miners in the coal regions, until 130,000 men or more were involved. This strike lasted several months, was accompanied by rioting and loss of life, and also cost several millions of dollars.

442. New York City Reforms; "Coxey's Army." (1894.) — In 1894 the New York Legislature, compelled by public opinion, appointed a committee to investigate the New York City police department. As a result of the facts brought to light, and of a sentiment which had been growing in the community for some time, a reform ticket was chosen at the next election by a large majority. This success had much influence in furthering reform all over the country.

A strange movement took place in the same year. Large numbers of workingmen and tramps started from points in the West for Washington, with the idea of demanding help from Congress. Generally known, from the chief leader, as "Coxey's Army," they called themselves "Commonwealers." The "army" was greatly diminished in numbers before it reached Washington, where two or three of the leaders were arrested for violating local regulations. The movement soon came to an end.

[1] There was also during the strike serious rioting in California.

443. Anti-lottery Bill; National Military Park; Atlanta Exposition. (**1895.**) — In 1895 Congress passed a new bill for the suppression of lotteries (Sect. 417) by forbidding the transmission of lottery tickets, or anything relating to lotteries, through the mails, or by means of national or interstate commerce.

In September, 1895, two notable events took place in the South: the dedication of the "National Chickamauga and Chattanooga Military Park," and the opening of the "Cotton States and International Exposition" at Atlanta.

The Military Park consists of about ten square miles, and includes the site of the great battles fought in 1863 (Sect. 326). The ground was purchased jointly by the United States and the States of Georgia and Tennessee. At the dedication there was a fraternal reunion of United States and Confederate officers and troops.



A KIOWA CHIEF.

The Atlanta Exposition was opened on the 18th of September. It ranks next to the Centennial and the Columbian Expositions as the most successful held in the United States. The wonderful progress made since 1865 by the "New South" has nowhere been so clearly shown.

444. The Indians; Utah. (**1896.**) — After many years of difficulty with the Indian tribes, Congress in 1887 passed *the* "General Allotment" or "Dawes Act," the main

features of which became the settled policy of the government. These are to abolish tribal relations, to encourage the Indians to receive individual allotments of land, to adopt the habits of civilized life, and as soon as practicable to become citizens of the United States.

Utah having complied with an act of Congress, one of the provisions of which required the absolute prohibition of polygamy, was admitted to the Union January 4, 1896, making the forty-fifth State.

445. Republican Nominations. (1896.) — In the elections of 1894 the Republicans made great gains, and in the House of Representatives their majority was 133. Thomas B. Reed of Maine was chosen Speaker (Sect. 415). As the campaign of 1896 drew near, it became evident that the free coinage of silver would be made a leading issue.

The Republican convention was held at St. Louis, and William McKinley of Ohio was nominated for President and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President. The most important paragraph of the platform was one in favor of the maintenance of the present gold standard for the currency. A dramatic incident of the convention was the withdrawal of a few delegates who upheld the free coinage of silver, and refused to continue longer with their party.

446. Democratic Nominations. (1896.) — The Democratic convention met at Chicago. Among other things, the platform advocated the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.[1] It also "denounced the arbitrary interference by federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Con-

[1] That is a silver dollar should weigh sixteen times as much as a gold dollar.

stitution of the United States, and a crime against free institutions," and especially objected to the use of injunctions by the judiciary. A striking incident of this convention was an impassioned speech by William J. Bryan, a delegate from Nebraska. This speech led to his nomination for President. Arthur Sewall of Maine was nominated for Vice-President.

447. Populist and Other Conventions. (1896.) — The "Populist" or People's party convention when it met accepted the Democratic candidate for President, but nominated Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President.

The Prohibition party at its convention divided, and each wing nominated its own candidates. The Socialist Labor party also nominated candidates.

There was so much dissatisfaction with the platform and the candidates of the Chicago convention that many prominent Democratic newspapers rejected them and declared for the gold standard, and thousands of Democrats did the same. Later a convention representing the gold standard Democrats met at Indianapolis and nominated as candidates John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. The delegates adopted the name of the "National Democratic Party."

448. The Presidential Campaign. (1896.)— The Presidential campaign of 1896 was one of the most exciting and important that has ever taken place. It was a contest respecting principles, and party platforms never received more attention. The amount of financial and political literature distributed and read was enormous, and political speeches almost without number were delivered. The co-operation *of very many* gold standard Democrats greatly increased the

Republican strength, and McKinley and Hobart were elected by a large majority of the electoral vote, and by a plurality of over 600,000 of the popular vote.

449. Venezuelan Boundary. (1895–1896.) — There had been for many years a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela regarding the boundary dividing the latter from British Guiana. Venezuela wished to submit the boundary question to arbitration, but Great Britain refused to do so. In July, 1895, Mr. Olney, the United States Secretary of State, addressed a note to the British Government stating that the United States was opposed to a forcible increase of the British possessions in America, referring to the Monroe Doctrine (Sect. 208) in support of his position, and urging the British government to submit the matter to arbitration. A reply was received late in November declining to do this. On receipt of this note President Cleveland promptly sent to Congress a special message on the subject. The apparently warlike tone he used at once threw the whole country into a state of great excitement. The President having suggested in his message the appointment of a commission "to determine what is the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana," Congress authorized such action, and the President appointed five commissioners, who entered at once upon their duties. The agitation calmed down, and negotiations with Great Britain went on. In



WILLIAM McKINLEY.

November, 1896, the British government consented to arbitrate upon a basis honorable to all parties.

The excitement which accompanied the Venezuelan discussion so aroused the two countries to the danger of sudden quarrels, and to the inexpediency of resorting to war, that a treaty was drafted for the creation of a tribunal of arbitration to settle disputes which may arise in future between Great Britain and the United States.

APPENDIX I.

MAYFLOWER COMPACT.

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiects of our dread soveraigne Lord King IAMES, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith &c.

"Having vndertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of *God* and one of another, covenant, and combine our selues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnesse whereof we haue here-vnder subscribed our names, *Cape Cod* 11. of *November*, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King IAMES, of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland* 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domini* 1620."

Taken from Mourt's Relation, edited by Henry M. Dexter, Boston, 1865.

APPENDIX II.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.[1]

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object

[1] The original copy of the Declaration of Independence, which was signed at Philadelphia, is kept at the Department of State, Washington, District of Columbia. The writing is much faded, and some of the signatures have nearly disappeared.

The arrangement of paragraphs here adopted follows the copy in the Journals of Congress, printed by John Dunlap, which agrees with Jefferson's original draft. No names of states *appear in the original*, though the names from each state are together, except that the signature *of Matthew Thornton*, New Hampshire, follows that of Oliver Wolcott, Massachusetts.

evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the *Civil Power.*

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of

our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WM. WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

SAML. ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBT. TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

RHODE ISLAND.

STEP. HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAM'EL HUNTINGTON,
WM. WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

NEW YORK.

WM. FLOYD,
PHIL. LIVINGSTON,
FRANS. LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY.

RICHD. STOCKTON,
JNO. WITHERSPOON,
FRAS. HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRA. CLARK.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBT. MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJA. FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEO CLYMER,
JAS. SMITH,
GEO. TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEO. ROSS.

DELAWARE.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEO. READ,
THO. M'KEAN.

MARYLAND.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WM. PACA,
THOS. STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
TH. JEFFERSON,
BENJA. HARRISON,
THOS. NELSON, jr.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WM. HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOS. HEYWARD, Junr.,
THOMAS LYNCH, Junr.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEO. WALTON.

APPENDIX III.

[THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.][1]

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I.

SECTION. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION. 2. [1] The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

[2] No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[3] Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers,[2] [which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of

[1] This text of the Constitution has been printed from the copy issued by the United States Department of State which bears the indorsement, "Compared with the original in the Department of State, April 18, 1891, and found to be correct." Those parts of the document in brackets [] are not in the original, or have been modified or superseded by amendments, or were temporary in their character.

[2] *The apportionment* under the census of 1890 is one representative to every 173,901.

Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons].[1] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.]

[4] When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

[5] The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker[2] and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION. 3. [1] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

[2] Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

[3] No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

[4] The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

[5] The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

[6] The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And

[1] The clause in brackets has been superseded by the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments.

[2] The Speaker is always one of the representatives; the other officers are not.

no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

[7] Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION. 4. [1] The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

[2] The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION. 5. [1] Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

[2] Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

[3] Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

[4] Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION. 6. [1] The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation[1] for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

[2] No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United

[1] At present (1893) this is "$5000 per annum, with $125 annual allowance for stationery and newspapers, and a mileage allowance of twenty cents per mile of travel each way from their *homes at each annual session.*"

States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7. [1] All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

[2] Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

[3] Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION. 8. [1] The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

[2] To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

[3] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

[4] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

[5] To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

[6] To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and *current Coin of the* United States;

[7] To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

[8] To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

[9] To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

[10] To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

[11] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

[12] To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

[13] To provide and maintain a Navy;

[14] To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

[15] To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

[16] To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

[17] To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

[18] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION. 9. [1] [The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.] [1]

[2] The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

[3] No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

[1] A temporary clause no longer in force.

[4] No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

[5] No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

[6] No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

[7] No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

[8] No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.[1]

SECTION. 10. [1] No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

[2] No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

[3] No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.[2]

ARTICLE. II.

SECTION. 1. [1] The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

[2] Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators

[1] The personal rights enumerated in Section 9, have been added to, and extended by, Amendments I.–X.

[2] The provisions of Section 10 have been modified and extended by Amendments XIII -XV.

and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[3] [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.] [1]

[4] The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

[5] No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

[6] In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

[1] This clause has been superseded by Amendment XII.

[7] The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

[8] Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION. 2. [1] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

[2] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

[3] The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION. 3. [1] He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION. 4. [1] The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE. III.

SECTION. 1. [1] The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

SECTION. 2. [1] The judicial Power shall extend to all cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; — to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; — to Controversies between two or more States; — between a State and Citizens of another State;[1] between Citizens of different States, — between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

[2] In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

[3] The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION. 3. [1] Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

[2] The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV.

SECTION. 1. [1] Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And

[1] Modified by Amendment XI.

the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION. 2. [1] The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.[1]

[2] A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

[3] [No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.][2]

SECTION. 3. [1] New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

[2] The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION. 4. [1] The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE. V.

[1] The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that [no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that][3] no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

[1] Provisions extended by Amendment XIV.

[2] Superseded by Amendment XIII.

[3] Temporary in its nature.

ARTICLE. VI.

[1] All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

[2] This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

[3] The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE. VII.

[1] The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word, "the", being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erazure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

[NOTE BY PRINTER. — The interlined and rewritten words, mentioned in the above explanation, are in this edition, printed in their proper places in the text.]

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth **In Witness** whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G°: WASHINGTON — *Presidt.*
and deputy from Virginia

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON *Secretary*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

CONNECTICUT.

WM: SAML. JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

NEW JERSEY.

WIL: LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY.
WM. PATERSON.
JONA: DAYTON

PENNSYLVANIA.

B FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBT. MORRIS
GEO. CLYMER
THOS. FITZ SIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUV MORRIS

DELAWARE.

GEO: READ
GUNNING BEDFORD jun
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACO: BROOM

MARYLAND.

JAMES MCHENRY
DAN OF ST THOS. JENIFER
DANL CARROLL

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR—
JAMES MADISON Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WM: BLOUNT
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT.
HU WILLIAMSON

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN

ARTICLES

IN

ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

[ARTICLE I.]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

[ARTICLE II.]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

[ARTICLE III.]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

[ARTICLE IV.]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

[ARTICLE V.]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous *crime, unless on* a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in

cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

[ARTICLE VI.]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

[ARTICLE VII.]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

[ARTICLE VIII.]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

[ARTICLE IX.]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

[ARTICLE X.][1]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

[ARTICLE XI.][2]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

[1] Amendments I.–X. were proclaimed to be in force December 15, 1791.

[2] Proclaimed to be in force January 8, 1798.

[ARTICLE XII.] [1]

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

[ARTICLE XIII.] [2]

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proclaimed to be in force September 25, 1804.

[2] Proclaimed to be in force December 18, 1865.

[ARTICLE XIV.][1]

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss of emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[1] Proclaimed to be in force July 28, 1868.

[ARTICLE XV.] [1]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proclaimed to be in force March 30, 1870.

APPENDIX IV.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it — all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war — seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

APPENDIX V.

DATE OF THE ADMISSION OF THE STATES, SQUARE MILES IN EACH, AND POPULATION AT THE CENSUS OF 1890.

		Date of Admission.	Square Miles.	Population. 1890.
1.	**Delaware**	Dec. 7, 1787	2,050	168,493
2.	**Pennsylvania**	Dec. 12, 1787	45,215	5,258,014
3.	**New Jersey**	Dec. 18, 1787	7,815	1,444,933
4.	**Georgia**	Jan. 2, 1788	59,475	1,837,353
5.	**Connecticut**	Jan. 9, 1788	4,990	746,258
6.	**Massachusetts**	Feb. 6, 1788	8,315	2,238,943
7.	**Maryland**	April 28, 1788	12,210	1,042,390
8.	**South Carolina**	May 23, 1788	30,570	1,151,149
9.	**New Hampshire**	June 21, 1788	9,305	376,530
10.	**Virginia**	June 25, 1788	42,450	1,655,980
11.	**New York**	July 26, 1788	49,170	5,997,853
12.	**North Carolina**	Nov. 21, 1789	52,250	1,617,947
13.	**Rhode Island**	May 29, 1790	1,250	345,506
14.	Vermont admitted	March 4, 1791	9,565	332,422
15.	Kentucky "	June 1, 1792	40,400	1,858,635
16.	Tennessee "	June 1, 1796	42,050	1,767,518
17.	Ohio "	Feb. 19, 1803	41,060	3,672,316
18.	Louisiana "	April 8, 1812	48,720	1,118,587
19.	Indiana "	Dec. 11, 1816	36,350	2,192,404
20.	Mississippi "	Dec. 10, 1817	46,810	1,289,600
21.	Illinois "	Dec. 3, 1818	56,650	3,826,351
22.	Alabama "	Dec. 14, 1819	52,250	1,513,017
23.	Maine "	March 15, 1820	33,040	661,086
24.	Missouri "	Aug. 10, 1821	69,415	2,679,184
25.	Arkansas "	June 15, 1836	53,850	1,128,179
26.	Michigan "	Jan. 26, 1837	58,915	2,093,889
27.	Florida "	March 3, 1845	58,680	391,422
28.	Texas "	Dec. 29, 1845	265,780	2,235,523
29.	Iowa "	Dec. 28, 1846	56,025	1,911,896
30.	Wisconsin "	May 29, 1848	56,040	1,686,880
31.	California "	Sept. 9, 1850	158,360	1,208,130
32.	Minnesota "	May 11, 1858	83,365	1,301,826
33.	Oregon "	Feb. 14, 1859	96,030	313,767
34.	Kansas "	Jan. 29, 1861	82,080	1,427,096
35.	West Virginia "	June 19, 1863	24,780	762,794
36.	Nevada "	Oct. 31, 1864	110,700	45,761
37.	Nebraska "	March 1, 1867	77,510	1,058,910
38.	Colorado "	Aug. 1, 1876	103,925	412,198
39.	North Dakota "	Nov. 3, 1889	70,795	182,719
40.	South Dakota "	Nov. 3, 1889	77,650	328,808
41.	Montana "	Nov. 8, 1889	146,080	132,159
42.	Washington "	Nov. 11, 1889	69,180	349,390
43.	Idaho "	July 3, 1890	84,800	84,385
44.	Wyoming "	July 10, 1890	97,890	60,705
45.	*Utah* "	Jan. 4, 1896	84,970	207,905

Ratified the Constitution.

TERRITORIES, ETC.

	Organized.	Square Miles.	Population.
District of Columbia	Mar. 30, 1791	70	230,392
New Mexico	Sept. 9, 1850	122,580	153,593
Arizona	Feb. 24, 1863	113,020	59,620
Oklahoma	Apr. 21, 1889	39,030	61,834
Indian Territory (no territorial government)	June 30, 1834	31,400	...
Alaska (unorganized)	(Mar. 30, 1867 [1])	577,390 [2]	32,052

Total gross area (land and water), exclusive of Alaska..3,025,600 sq. miles.
Total water surface, exclusive of Alaska.....55,600 sq. miles.
Total land surface, exclusive of Alaska.....2,970,000 sq. miles.
Total gross surface, with Alaska (estimated).....3,602,990 sq. miles.
Total population, exclusive of white persons in Indian Territory, Indians on Reservations, and Alaska 62,622,250
Total number of Indians on Reservations, exclusive of Alaska.....133,382
Total number of Indians in United States, exclusive of Alaska.....249,273 [3]
Total number of Indians in Alaska.....23,531

NOTE.— Works of reference differ in giving statistics of the states and territories. Those given above are, with few exceptions, on the authority of *The Public Domain*, Thomas Donaldson, Washington, 1884, and the publications of the *Eleventh Census of the United States*. The areas given are those of the *Eleventh Census*, and are gross (land and water).

[1] Bought from Russia March 30, 1867. [2] Estimated.

[3] "The Indians not under charge of the United States are slowly increasing." "The Reservation Indians are slowly decreasing, but this decrease may be from their leaving the reservations and voluntarily taking the duties of citizenship upon themselves." — *Census Report.*

APPENDIX VI.

GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES. — POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS, ALSO THE URBAN POPULATION.[1]

Year.	Population.	Population living in Cities.	Inhabitants of Cities in each 100 of the Total Population.
1790	3,929,214	131,472	3.35
1800	5,308,483	210,873	3.97
1810	7,239,881	356,920	4.93
1820	9,633,822	475,135	4.93
1830	12,866,020	1,864,509	6.72
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.49
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.13
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93
1880	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57
1890	62,622,250	18,284,385	29.20

ANNEXATIONS OF TERRITORY.

1. Louisiana Purchase . . 1803 . . 1,032,790 square miles.
2. Florida Cession . . . 1819 . . . 58,680 square miles.
3. Texas Annexation . . 1845 . . . 371,063 square miles.
4. Mexican Cession . . . 1848 . . . 522,568 square miles.
5. Gadsden Purchase . . 1853 . . . 45,535 square miles.
6. Alaska Purchase . . . 1867 . . . 577,390 square miles.

[1] *From Compendium of the Eleventh Census, Part I., p. lxxi.*

APPENDIX VII.

POPULATION OF THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES, 1790-1860.[1]

Year.	Free States.	Slave States.
1790	1,968,455	1,961,372
1800	2,684,616	2,621,316
1810	3,758,910	3,480,902
1820	5,152,372	4,485,819
1830	7,006,399	5,848,312
1840	9,733,922	7,334,433
1850	13,599,488	9,663,997
1860	19,128,418	12,315,372

[1] From *Tribune* Almanac, 1862.

APPENDIX VIII.

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS FROM 1790 TO 1893.

Year.	Senate.		House of Representatives.		Ratio of Representation.[1]
	Free States.	Slave States.	Free States.	Slave States.	
1790	14	12	35	30	30,000
1793	16	14	57	48	33,000
1796	16	16	57	49	33,000
1803	18	16	76	65	33,000
1813	18	18	103	78	35,000
1816	20	18	103	78	35,000
1821	24	24	105	81	35,000
1823	24	24	123	90	40,000
1833	24	24	141	99	47,700
1837	26	26	142	100	47,700
1843	26	26	135	88	70,680
1848	30	30	140	91	70,680
1853	32	30	144	90	93,423
1860	36	30	147	90	93,423
1863	72		243		127,381
1873	76		293		131,425
1883	76		325		151,911
1893	88		356		173,901

[1] The number of representatives is fixed by Congress every ten years (Constitution, Art. I. sect. 2 [3]). By the last act it was provided that there should be one representative for every 173,901 persons.

APPENDIX IX.

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

No.	President.	State.	Born.	Died.	Term of Office.	By whom elected.	Vice-President.
1	George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789–1797	Whole people	John Adams.
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	One term; 1797–1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson.
3	Thomas Jefferson.	Virginia	1743	1826	Two terms; 1801–1809	Democratic-Republicans	Aaron Burr. George Clinton.
4	James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809–1817	Democratic-Republicans	George Clinton. Elbridge Gerry.
5	James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	Two terms; 1817–1825	Democratic-Republicans	Daniel D. Tompkins.
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1848	One term; 1825–1829	House of Rep.	John C. Calhoun.
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829–1837	Democrats	John C. Calhoun. Martin Van Buren.
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	One term; 1837–1841	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson.
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	1773	1841	One month; 1841	Whigs	John Tyler.
10	John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 years and 11 months; 1841–1845	Whigs	
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	One term; 1845–1849	Democrats	George M. Dallas.
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 year and 4 months; 1849, 1850	Whigs	Millard Fillmore.
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 years and 8 months; 1850–1853	Whigs	
14	Franklin Pierce	N. Hampshire	1804	1869	One term; 1853–1857	Democrats	William R. King.
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	One term; 1857–1861	Democrats	J. C. Breckinridge.
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	One term and 6 weeks; 1861–1865	Republicans	Hannibal Hamlin. Andrew Johnson.
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 years and 10½ months; 1865–1869	Republicans	
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869–1877	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax. Henry Wilson.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	One term; 1877–1881	Republicans	William A. Wheeler.
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	Six months and 15 days	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur.
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 years, 5 mos., 15 days; 1881–1885	Republicans	
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	...	One term; 1885–1889	Democrats	Thomas A. Hendricks.
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	...	One term; 1889–1893	Republicans	Levi P. Morton.
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	...	1893–	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson.
...	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	...	President elect, 1896	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart.

APPENDIX X.

CHIEF DATES IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

DISCOVERY AND ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION, 1000–1605.

The Northmen, 1000(?).
Columbus discovers San Salvador, October 12, 1492.
The Cabots discover the continent of North America, 1497.
Amerigo Vespucci makes four voyages, 1499–1503.
Waldseemüller suggests the name AMERICA, 1507.
Ponce de Leon discovers Florida, 1513.
Balboa discovers the Pacific, 1513.
One ship of Magellan's fleet sails round the world, 1519–1522.
Cortez conquers Mexico for Spain, 1519–1521.
De Soto discovers the Mississippi, 1541; dies, 1542.
Menendez, the Spaniard, settles St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest town in the United States, 1565.
Martin Frobisher attempts to make a settlement in Labrador, 1576.
Santa Fé, New Mexico, founded by the Spaniards, 1582(?).
Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyages, 1578–1583.
Sir Walter Ralegh's attempts at colonization, 1584–1587.
Gosnold's colony at Cuttyhunk, Buzzards Bay (a failure), 1602.

COLONIZATION AND INTER-COLONIAL WARS, 1605–1763.

French settle Port Royal (Annapolis) in Acadie, 1605.
Charters granted to the London and Plymouth Companies, 1606.
Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in America, founded, 1607.
Champlain founds Quebec, 1608.
Henry Hudson discovers the Hudson River, 1609.
Trading post established by the Dutch on Manhattan Island, 1613.
Virginia House of Burgesses, the first representative body in America, meets, 1619.
A Dutch ship brings to Virginia the first cargo of negro slaves, 1619.
Pilgrims land at Plymouth, December 21, 1620.
Fort Amsterdam, afterwards New York, founded by the Dutch, 1626.
John Endicott comes to Naumkeag (Salem), 1628.
Patroons in New York, 1629.
Boston founded, 1630.
Charter granted to Lord Baltimore, 1632.
Collegiate School of the Dutch Church founded, 1633.[1]
Leonard Calvert founds St. Mary's, Maryland, 1634.
Religious toleration granted in Maryland to all who believe in Jesus Christ, 1634.
Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, Connecticut, founded, 1635.
Boston Latin School founded, 1635.[1]
Harvard College founded, 1636.
Roger Williams founds Providence, Rhode Island, 1636.
Pequot War, 1636, 1637.
New Haven founded, 1638.
Swedes settle on the Delaware River, 1638.
"Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," first written constitution in America, January 14, 1638(9).
"United Colonies of New England," 1643.
Toleration Act in Maryland, 1649.

[1] Still flourishing in 1893.

The Quakers in Massachusetts and Plymouth, 1656.
William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, two Quakers, hung on Boston Common, 1659.
Mary Dyer, a Quaker, hung on Boston Common, 1660.
William Leddra, a Quaker, hung on Boston Common, 1661.
Eliot's Indian New Testament printed, 1661.
Rhode Island Charter (in force till 1843), 1663.
Eliot's Indian Bible printed, 1663.
English capture New Amsterdam, which becomes New York, 1664.
Elizabeth, New Jersey, settled by the English, 1665.
The "Model" government for Carolina, 1669.
Settlement on the Ashley River, South Carolina, 1670.
George Fox visits America, 1672.
A Dutch fleet captures New York, 1673.
New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey, 1674.
New York restored to the English by treaty, 1674.
King Philip's War, 1675.
Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, 1676.
Massachusetts buys Gorges's rights in Maine, 1677.
William Penn and others buy West Jersey, 1677.
Philadelphia founded, 1682.
William Penn lands at Chester, 1682.
Massachusetts charter annulled, 1684.
Rule of Sir Edmund Andros, 1686–1688.
William Penn Charter School founded in Philadelphia, 1689.[1]
King William's War, 1689–1697.
Jacob Leisler, lieutenant-governor of New York, 1689.
First Congress of Colonies at New York, 1690.
Massachusetts given a new charter, 1691.
Leisler executed, 1691.
William and Mary College, Virginia, founded, 1692.
Witchcraft delusion, 1692, 1693. [1695.
John Archdale, governor of North Carolina,
Peace of Ryswick in Europe, end of King William's War, 1697.
Yale College founded, 1701.
Queen Anne's War begins, 1702.
Boston News Letter, first American newspaper, 1704.
Queen Anne's Wars ended by Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.
England secures the right to supply America with slaves (the Assiento), 1713.
Tuscaroras join the Five Nations, which become the "Six Nations," 1713.
Rhode Island disfranchises Roman Catholics, 1715.
New Orleans founded by the French, 1718.
Bering sails through Bering's Straits, 1728.
George Berkeley (Bishop Berkeley) comes to Rhode Island, 1729.
Proprietors of Carolina surrender their patent, 1729.
Baltimore, Maryland, founded, 1730.
Oglethorpe founds Savannah, Georgia, 1733.
Richmond, Virginia, laid out, 1733.
John and Charles Wesley go to Georgia, 1736.
George Whitefield visits Georgia, 1738.
King George's War begins, 1744.
Capture of Louisburg, 1745.
College of New Jersey, Princeton, founded, 1746.
King George's War ends by treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.
Ohio Company organized, 1748.
University of Pennsylvania founded, 1749.
Georgia becomes a royal colony, 1752.
George Washington sent to the French, 1753.
King's, afterwards Columbia, College, chartered, 1754.
Washington surrenders, 1754.
Albany Convention, 1754.
French and Indian War, 1754–1763.
Braddock's defeat, 1755.
Wolfe takes Quebec, 1759. [1760.
Montreal taken, and England gains all Canada,
Peace of Paris, 1763.
Mason and Dixon's Line, 1763.

The Revolution and Confederation, 1765–1789.

The Stamp Act, 1765.
Stamp Act Congress in New York, 1765.
Declaratory Act, March 7, 1766.
Repeal of the Stamp Act, March 18, 1766.
Townshend Acts, 1767.
John Dickinson's Farmer's Letters, 1767.
John Hancock's sloop seized, 1768.
British troops reach Boston, 1768.
"Boston Massacre," March 5, 1770.
Removal of taxes except upon Tea, April, 1770.
"Boston Tea Party," December 16, 1773.
Boston Port Bill, 1774.
Massachusetts Bill, 1774.
Transportation Bill, 1774.

[1] Still flourishing in 1893.

Quartering of Troops Bill, 1774.
Quebec Bill, 1774.
First Continental Congress (proposed by Virginia), meets in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.
Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775.
Second Continental Congress meets, May 10, 1775.
Ticonderoga captured, May 10, 1775.
Mecklenburg (North Carolina) resolutions passed, May 31, 1775.
Washington elected commander-in-chief, June 15, 1775; commissioned, June 19, 1775.
Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.
Washington takes command at Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 3, 1775.
Union flag first displayed at Cambridge, January 1, 1776.
British evacuate Boston, March 17, 1776.
Congress calls upon the states to provide independent governments, May 15, 1776.
Resolutions of independence introduced into Congress, June 7, 1776.
Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.
Declaration of Independence signed by the members of Congress, August 2, 1776.
American defeat on Long Island, August 27, 1776.
Washington evacuates New York City, September 14, 1776.
Washington retreats across New Jersey and crosses Delaware River, December, 1776.
Trenton surprised by Washington, December 26, 1776.
Washington successful at Princeton, January 2, 3, 1777.
Lafayette joins American army, July, 1777.
British defeat Americans at Chad's Ford, Brandywine Creek, September 11, 1777.
Howe takes possession of Philadelphia, September 26, 1777.
Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777.
Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.
Articles of Confederation adopted by Congress, November 15, 1777.
Washington goes into winter quarters at Valley Forge, December 19, 1777.
France acknowledges the independence of the United States, and makes treaties with her, February 6, 1778.
British evacuate Philadelphia, June 18, 1778.
Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.
Massacre at Wyoming, Pennsylvania, July 3, 1778.
Massacre at Cherry Valley, New York, November 11, 1778.
British take Savannah, December 29, 1778.
George Rogers Clark takes Vincennes, 1779.
British rout Americans at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780.
Arnold's treason, September, 1780.
André executed, October 2, 1780.
General Nathanael Greene takes command of southern army, December 2, 1780.
Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, February 20, 1781.
Maryland joins the Confederation, March 1, 1781.
Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1781.
Bank of North America, Philadelphia, chartered by Congress, December 31, 1781.
Provisional treaty of peace with Great Britain, November 30, 1782.
Washington proclaims cessation of hostilities, April 19, 1783.
Definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783.
New York evacuated by the British, November 25, 1783.
Washington resigns his commission as commander-in-chief, December 23, 1783.
Maryland and Virginia commissioners meet at Alexandria, Virginia, March, 1785.
Annapolis Convention, September, 1786.
Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, December, 1786.
Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787.
Ordinance for Northwest Territory adopted by Congress, July 13, 1787.
Constitution signed in the Convention, September 17, 1787.
Constitution published, September 19, 1787.
Delaware the first state to ratify the Constitution, December 7, 1787.
New Hampshire the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, June 21, 1788.
Last records of the Continental Congress, November 1, 1788.
The Federalist papers collected and published, 1788.
Washington and Adams declared President and Vice-President, April 6, 1789.

The United States under the Constitution, 1789–1861.

Washington inaugurated at New York, April 30, 1789.
Organization of the new government, 1789.
Tariff for revenue and protection, 1791.

First United States Bank established, 1791.
Captain Robert Gray explores and names the Columbia River, 1792.
Eli Whitney invents the Cotton-Gin, 1793.
Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania, 1794.
Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, November 19, 1794.
Washington's Farewell Address, 1796.
John Adams, President, March 4, 1797.
X. Y. Z. Correspondence, 1798.
French War with United States, 1798.
Alien and Sedition Laws, 1798.
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798, 1799.
Peace with France, 1799.
Death of Washington, December 14, 1799.
Washington city becomes the national capital, 1800.
Thomas Jefferson chosen President by the House of Representatives, February 17, 1801.
Thomas Jefferson, President, March 4, 1801.
Tripolitan War, 1801.
Louisiana bought from France, April 30, 1803.
Lewis and Clark expedition, 1804–1806.
The *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*, 1807.
Fulton's Steamboat, 1807.
The Embargo Act, December 22, 1807.
The Foreign Slave Trade made illegal, 1808.
Non-Intercourse Act passed, March 1, 1809.
James Madison, President, March 4, 1809.
Battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811.
United States declares war against Great Britain, June 18, 1812.
Great Britain revokes her "Orders in Council," June 23, 1812.
Hull surrenders Detroit, August 16, 1812.
Perry's victory on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813.
British capture and burn Washington, August 24, 25, 1814.
British repulsed at Baltimore, September 13, 1814.
Hartford Convention meets December 15, 1814.
Treaty of peace signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.
Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815.
Second Bank of United States, April, 1816.
Protective duties imposed on iron, etc., 1816.
James Monroe, President, March 4, 1817.
Erie Canal begun, July 4, 1817.
The *Savannah*, the first steamship to cross the ocean, 1819.
Florida bought from Spain, 1819.
Missouri Compromise, 1820.
Monroe Doctrine stated, December 2, 1823.
Lafayette visits the United States, 1824, 1825.
Protective tariff passed, 1824.
John Quincy Adams chosen President by the House of Representatives, February 9, 1825.
John Quincy Adams, President, March 4, 1825.
University of Virginia opened, March 25, 1825.
Erie Canal opened, October 26, 1825.
American Temperance Society organized at Boston, 1826.
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (the first passenger road in America) begun at Baltimore, 1828.
The "Tariff of Abominations," 1828.
Andrew Jackson, President, March 4, 1829.
"Spoils System" in American politics begins, 1829.
Rise of the Mormons, 1830.
Hayne and Webster debate in United States Senate, January, 1830.
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad opened, 1830.
Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831.
John C. Calhoun proposes "Nullification," 1831.
William Lloyd Garrison begins to publish *The Liberator*, January 1, 1831.
Jackson vetoes the bill for the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, July 10, 1832.
South Carolina passes Nullification ordinance, November 19, 1832.
Jackson issues his Nullification Proclamation, December 11, 1832.
New England Antislavery Society formed, 1832.
The Compromise tariff, March 2, 1833.
Jackson's order for cessation of deposits, September, 1833.
New York Sun founded, 1833.
Obed Hussey patents a reaper, 1833.
Cyrus McCormick patents his reaping machinery, 1834.
Antislavery riots, 1834–1838.
Great fire in New York, 1835.
John Ericsson introduces screw propeller, 1836.
Texas declares herself independent, March 2, 1836.
The Specie Circular issued, July 11, 1836.
United States government free of debt, 1836.
Martin Van Buren, President, March 4, 1837.
Financial panic of 1837.
United States Sub-Treasury System established, 1840.
Liberty party formed, 1840.
William Henry Harrison, President, March 4, 1841.
President Harrison dies, April 4, 1841.
John Tyler, the Vice-President, becomes President, April 4, 1841.
Ashburton treaty with Great Britain, August 7, 1842.

Protective tariff of 1842.
Dr. Whitman's ride, Oregon to St. Louis, 1842.
Dorr War in Rhode Island, 1842.
Anti-rent agitation in New York, 1842.
Morse's telegraph set up between Baltimore and Washington; first message, May 24, 1844.
Congress passes joint resolution for annexation of Texas, March 3, 1845.
James K. Polk, President, March 4, 1845.
Texas annexed, July 4; admitted as a state, December 29, 1845.
Naval Academy at Annapolis founded, 1845.
Congress declares that war exists by the act of Mexico, May 13, 1846.
Wilmot Proviso, August, 1846.
Revenue tariff of 1846.
Treaty with Great Britain relative to Oregon boundary, June 15, 1846.
Elias Howe invents his sewing-machine, 1846.
Sub-Treasury Act re-enacted, 1846.
Smithsonian Institution founded, 1846.
California and New Mexico seized, 1846.
City of Mexico taken, 1847.
Gold discovered in California, January, 1848.
Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848.
John Quincy Adams dies, February 23, 1848.
Mormons emigrate to Utah, 1848.
President Taylor dies, and Millard Fillmore succeeds, July 9, 1850.
"Compromise of 1850."
Fugitive Slave Law passed, 1850.
Postage on letters reduced to three cents, 1851.
Franklin Pierce President, March 4, 1853.
World's Fair in New York, 1853.
"Uncle Tom's Cabin" published in book form, 1852.
Gadsden purchase, 1853.
Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed, May 30, 1854.
Perry's treaty with Japan, 1854.
Ostend Manifesto, 1854.
The Republican party formed, 1854.
James Buchanan, President, March 4, 1857.
Dred Scott decision published, March 6, 1857.
Business panic, 1857.
First Atlantic cable, August, 1858.
John Brown seizes Harper's Ferry, October 16, 1859.
South Carolina passes secession ordinance, December 20, 1860.
Confederate Congress meets at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861.
Confederate Constitution adopted, February 8, 1861.
Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens elected President and Vice-President of Confederate states, February 9, 1861.
Abraham Lincoln, President, March 4, 1861.
Fort Sumter fired upon, April 12, 1861.
Fort Sumter surrendered, April 13, 1861.
President Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers, April 15, 1861.

Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861–1867.

Massachusetts troops attacked in Baltimore, April 19, 1861.
Eleven states passed ordinances of secession by June, 1861.
First battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.
Mason and Slidell taken from the *Trent*, November 8, 1861.
Monitor and *Merrimac*, March 9, 1862.
Farragut takes New Orleans, April 25, 1862.
Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862.
Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.
National Bank Act, March 25, 1863.
Battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2, 3, 1863.
Surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863.
Draft riots in New York City, July 13–16, 1863.
Kearsarge sinks the *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, June 19, 1864.
Postal money order system adopted, 1864.
Early's raid on Washington, July, 1864.
Maryland abolishes slavery, October 10, 1864.
Sherman takes Savannah, December 21, 1864.
Richmond evacuated by Confederates, April 2, 1865.
Lee surrenders at Appomattox, April 9, 1865.
President Lincoln assassinated, April 14, 1865.
Andrew Johnson, President, April 15, 1865.
Joseph E. Johnston surrenders to Sherman, April 26, 1865.
Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery, adopted, December 18, 1865.
Atlantic telegraph laid, July 28, 1866.
Alaska bought, March 30, 1867.
President Johnson impeached, 1868.
Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted, July 28, 1868.
Ulysses S. Grant, President, March 4, 1869.
Pacific Railroad completed, May 10, 1869.
Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted, March 30, 1870.
All states represented in Congress, 1871.

The New Nation, 1867–1893.

Treaty of Washington, May 8. 1871.
Chicago fire, October 8, 1871.

Forest fires in Michigan and Wisconsin, October, 1871.
Geneva Arbitration results proclaimed, September 14, 1872.
Boston fire, November 9, 1872.
Financial panic, 1873.
Franking privilege abolished, July 1, 1873.
Congress provides, January 14, 1875, for resumption of specie payment to begin January 1, 1879.
Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, May to November, 1876.
Electoral Commission, 1877.
Rutherford B. Hayes, President, March 4, 1877.
Great railroad strikes, 1877.
Bland Silver Bill passed, February, 1878.
Fishery dispute settled with Great Britain, 1878.
Resumption of specie payment, January 1, 1879.
Mississippi jetties, 1879.
James A. Garfield, President, March 4, 1881.
President Garfield assassinated, July 2, 1881.
President Garfield dies, September 19, 1881.
Chester A. Arthur, President, September 19, 1881.
Yorktown celebration, October 19, 1881.
Civil Service Act, 1883.
Brooklyn Bridge finished, May 24, 1883.
Letter postage reduced to two cents, 1883.
Cotton exhibition at New Orleans, 1884.
Washington Monument dedicated, February 21, 1885.
Grover Cleveland, President, March 4, 1885.
Presidential Succession and Electoral Count Bills passed, 1886.
Anarchist riot in Chicago, May, 1886.
Charleston earthquake, 1886.
Interstate Commerce Act, 1887.
Centennial Celebration of adoption of Constitution, September 15–17, 1887.
Chinese Immigration Act, 1888.
Benjamin Harrison, President, March 4, 1889.
Centennial celebration of Washington's inauguration, April 29 to May 1, 1889.
Johnstown flood, May 31, 1889.
Pan-American Congress, 1889, 1890.
International Copyright Act, 1891.
Homestead labor troubles, 1892.
Grover Cleveland, President for the second time, March 4, 1893.
Columbian Fair at Chicago, May 1, to October 31, 1893.
Bering Sea Arbitrators publish their decision, August, 1893.
Pullman strike, 1894.
Coal miners' strike, 1894.
William McKinley elected President, 1896.
Venezuela Agreement, 1896.

APPENDIX XI.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS.

North America, 1000–1492.	Early Inhabitants.	Dwellings, Habits.
	Early Discoveries.	Races, territory covered.
Columbus, 1492.	Education.	
	Aid received.	
	San Salvador.	
Other Discoverers, 1493–1542.	The Cabots; the Continent of North America.	
	The Spaniards; South of Virginia.	
	Amerigo Vespucci; South America.	
	Ponce de Leon; Florida.	
	Balboa; the Pacific.	
	Magellan; Circumnavigation of the World.	
	Cortez; Mexico.	
	De Soto; Mississippi River.	
English Attempts at Colonization, 1576–1605.	Frobisher.	
	Sir Humphrey Gilbert.	
	Sir Walter Ralegh.	
	Gosnold.	
French Attempts at Colonization, 1540–1564.	Quebec.	
	Port Royal (South Carolina).	
	St. Augustine (Fort Caroline).	
Spanish Attempts at Colonization, 1565–1582.	St. Augustine.	
	Santa Fé.	
	Mexico.	
Dutch, 1626.	New Amsterdam.	
Swedes, 1638.	On the Delaware.	

COLONIZATION.

Virginia, 1606–1715.
- The London Company.
- The Plymouth Company.
- Jamestown.
- Captain John Smith.
- Slaves.
- First Representative Body.
- Virginia a Royal Colony.
- Bacon's Rebellion.
- Prosperity.
- Indentured Servants.

Massachusetts, 1620–1644.
- **Plymouth.**
 - Religious Persecution in Europe.
 - The Pilgrims.
 - Hardships.
 - Myles Standish.
- **Massachusetts Bay.**
 - The Puritans.
 - John Endicott.
 - Special Characteristics of the Colony.
 - Growth of Political Freedom.
 - Religious Intolerance.
 - Boston.

Rhode Island, 1636–1663.
- Roger Williams.
- Providence founded.
- Portsmouth founded.
- Newport founded.
- Religious Liberty.
- Charters granted.

Connecticut, 1635–1664.
- Settlement.
- "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut."
- New Haven.
- Charter.

Maine (New Hampshire), 1627–1677.
- Settlement.
- Division into Maine and New Hampshire.
- Massachusetts acquires Maine.

Maryland, 1632–1716.
- Lord Baltimore.
- Charter.
- Religious Toleration.
- Settlement.
- The "Toleration Act."
- Religious Troubles.

New York, 1626–1691.
- Settlement.
- Grant to the Duke of York.
- Conflict with the English.
- Jacob Leisler.
- The Patroons.
- Education.

New Jersey, 1664–1738.
- Settlement.
- Government.
- East and West Jersey.
- William Penn.
- Presbyterian Influence.
- Royal Colony.

The Carolinas, 1663–1729.
- Charter.
- John Locke.
- John Archdale.
- Division of Province.
- Character of Settlers.
- Royal Colony.

Pennsylvania, 1681–1718.
- William Penn.
- Charter.
- Boundaries.
- The "Holy Experiment."
- Settlement.
- Penn's Treaty with Indians.
- Prosperity of the Colony.

Delaware, 1682. Bought by Penn.

Georgia, 1732.
- James Oglethorpe.
- The Charter.
- The Settlement.
- The Wesleys.
- A Royal Colony.

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND INDIANS. (1636–1763.)

English Colonists, 1636–1700.
- Political Condition.
- Aims.
- Relations with England.
- Relations with the Dutch.

(*English Colonists — continued.*)

- Relations with the Indians.
 - United Colonies of New England.
 - William Penn.
 - John Eliot.
 - Pequot War.
 - King Philip's War.
- Civil War in England.
- The Restoration.
- The Navigation Acts.
- Rule of Andros.
- Religious Intolerance.
- The Quakers.
- Witchcraft Delusion.
- Beliefs and Customs.
- Commerce, Piracy.
- Education.
- Slave Trade.

French Colonists.

- Relations with the Indians.
- Aims. (*Map.*)
- Strength and Weakness.

First, Second, and Third Inter-Colonial Wars, 1689–1753.

- King William's War, 1689–1697.
 - Causes.
 - Incidents.
 - Congress of English Colonies.
 - Results.
- Queen Anne's War, 1702–1713.
 - Causes.
 - Incidents.
 - Results.
- King George's War, 1744–1748.
 - Causes.
 - Incidents.
 - Results.
- Effects on the Colonists.

Fourth Inter-Colonial, or French and Indian War, 1754–1763.

- French and English Colonies.
- Ohio Company.
- Washington's Expedition.
- The Albany Convention.
- Franklin's Plan of Union.
- Lines of Attack.

(*Fourth Inter-Colonial, or French and Indian War — continued.*)

- Braddock's Defeat,
- Acadie.
- William Pitt.
- Marquis of Montcalm.
- Quebec.
- Conditions of Peace.
- Results. (*Map.*)
- Conspiracy of Pontiac.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE REVOLUTION. (1763–1782.)

Causes, etc., of the Revolution, 1763–1775.

- Eighteenth Century Views on Economic Questions.
- Navigation Laws.
- Representation and Taxation.
- Stamp Act.
- "Sons of Liberty."
- Stamp Act Congress.
- Political Condition of the Colonists.
- Domestic Life.
- Townshend Acts.
- The "Farmer's Letters."
- Resistance in the Colonies.
- Action of the English Parliament.
- The Five "Intolerable Acts."
- The First Continental Congress.
- Lexington and Concord.

The Revolution, 1775–1782.

- Second Continental Congress.
- Bunker Hill.
- Washington, Commander-in-Chief.
- Canada.
- King and Colonists.
- Origin of the States.
- Declaration of Independence.
- British Plans of Attack.
- New York Campaign. (*Map.*)
- Burgoyne's Surrender.
- Lafayette.
- Howe's Philadelphia Campaign.
- Valley Forge; Conway Cabal.
- French Alliance.
- Benjamin Franklin.

(*The Revolution — continued.*)
- The Indians.
- John Paul Jones; the American Navy.
- Western Settlements.
- Continental Money.
- Arnold's Treason.
- Southern Campaign. (*Map.*)
- General Nathanael Greene.
- Robert Morris.
- Yorktown.
- Peace.

THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION. (1782–1812.)

The Confederation, 1782–1787.
- Land Claims. (*Map.*)
- Western Reserve.
- Ordinance of 1787.
- Weakness of the Confederation.
- Shays's Rebellion.
- Constitutional Convention.

The Constitution, 1787–1789.
- Its Strength.
- Its Compromises.
- Legislative Provisions.
- Executive Provisions.
- Judicial Provisions.
- Provision for Amendment.
- Checks and Balances.
- Adoption.
- The Federalist.

PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION.

Washington's Administration, 1789–1797.
- Washington, President.
- Government.
 - Beginning.
 - Organization.
 - Revenue.
 - Capital.
- New States.
- Whiskey Insurrection.
- Eli Whitney.
- Party Feeling.
- Relations with Europe.
- Jay's Treaty.
- Farewell Address.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS.

Period of Experiments in Foreign and Domestic Policy, 1797–1812.

- John Adams, President.
- Difficulties with France.
- X. Y. Z. Correspondence.
- Alien and Sedition Laws.
- Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.
- Death of Washington.
- Permanent Capital.
- John Marshall, Chief Justice.
- The Federalists.
- Election of Thomas Jefferson.
- Thomas Jefferson, President.
- Louisiana Purchase.
- Lewis and Clark Expedition.
- War with Barbary States.
- Hamilton and Burr.
- Re-election of Jefferson.
- Public Improvements.
- European Affairs.
- Orders in Council.
- Berlin and Milan Decrees.
- Injuries to American Commerce.
- The Embargo.
- James Madison, President.
- Robert Fulton.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN. (1812–1815.)

War of 1812, 1812–1815.

- Grievances of the United States.
- Condition of the United States.
- American Failures. (*Map.*)
- Naval Success.
- Creek War; Andrew Jackson.
- British Plans and Successes.
- Southern Campaign.
- New Orleans.
- Peace of Ghent.
- Results of War.
- National Bank.
- Algerine War.

THE THIRTY YEARS PEACE. (1815–1845.)

Era of Good Feeling, 1815–1825.

- James Monroe, President.
- Increase of National Feeling.
- Cession of Florida.
- Protection to Home Industries.
- Internal Improvements.
- Missouri Compromise.
- Spanish American Republics.
- The Monroe Doctrine.
- New National Issues.
- Tariff of 1824.
- Visit of Lafayette.
- Changes in the United States. (*Map, 1825.*)

Era of Ill Feeling, 1825–1845.

- John Quincy Adams, President.
- Internal Improvements.
- The Creek Indians.
- Anti-Masonic Party.
- "Tariff of 1828."
- Andrew Jackson, President.
- "Spoils System."
- "Kitchen Cabinet."
- United States Bank.
- Nullification.
- John C. Calhoun.
- Compromise Tariff.
- Cherokees in Georgia.
- Seminole War; Osceola.
- Development of Country as affected by
 - Railroads.
 - Inventions.
 - Coal and Iron Mines.
 - Household Appliances.
- Philanthropic Efforts.
- Education; Literature.
- Temperance Reforms.
- Abolitionists.
- Surplus Revenue.
- Martin Van Buren, President.
- "Pet Banks"; Panic of 1837
- Sub-Treasury System.
- Whig Presidential Campaign.

(*Era of Ill Feeling — continued.*)

- William Henry Harrison, President.
- John Tyler becomes President.
- Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain.
- Dorr "War"; "Anti-Renters."
- Telegraph; Anæsthetics.
- The Mormons.
- Texas Annexation.
- James K. Polk, President.

MEXICAN WAR AND SLAVERY AGITATION. (1845–1861.)

Mexican War, 1846–1848.

- Mexican Campaign. (*Map.*)
- New Mexico. (*Map.*)
- California.
- Terms of Peace.
- Results of the War.
- Discovery of Gold.

Slavery Agitation, 1845–1861.

- Oregon. (1842–1846.)
- Sub-Treasury.
- Wilmot Proviso.
- Zachary Taylor, President.
- Vice-President becomes President.
- Compromise of 1850.
- Henry Clay.
- Daniel Webster.
- The Fugitive Slave Law.
- Immigration.
- Invention.
- Postage.
- New Party Leaders.
- New York World's Fair.
- Franklin Pierce, President.
- "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
- Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
- American Party.
- The South.
- Representation in Congress.
- Ostend Manifesto.
- Kansas.
- Charles Sumner.
- James Buchanan, President.

(*Slavery Agitation — continued.*)
- Ocean Telegraph; Oil Fields.
- Dred Scott Decision.
- John Brown.
- Election of 1860.
- Secession.
- Confederate States of America.
- Peace Conference.
- Abraham Lincoln, President.
- Fall of Fort Sumter.

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. (1861–1877.)

Civil War, 1861.
- Effect of the Fall of Sumter.
- Call for Volunteers.
- Attack in Baltimore.
- The Blockade.
- North and South compared. (*Map.*)
- Battle of Bull Run.
- General McClellan.
- Mason and Slidell.

1862.
- Condition of Affairs, January, 1862.
- Western Campaigns.
- *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.
- New Orleans taken.
- Peninsula Campaign. (*Map.*)
- General Robert E. Lee.
- "Stonewall" Jackson.
- Fredericksburg.
- Antietam.
- Slavery; "Contrabands."
- Emancipation Proclamation announced.

1863.
- Emancipation Proclamation issued.
- Sioux War.
- Campaign in the West.
- Campaign in the East. Gettysburg.
- Vicksburg; Chattanooga.
- Morgan's Raid.
- The Blockade.
- Privateers; The *Alabama*.
- Conscription, North and South.
- Finances, North and South.

(*Civil War, 1863 — continued.*)
- National Bank Act.
- Union Armies, East and West.

1864.
- General Grant placed at Head of Union Army.
- Grant and Sherman's Plans.
- Early's Raid.
- Sheridan in Shenandoah Valley.
- Sherman's March.
- Confederate Cruisers.
- Peace Party in the North.

1865.
- Peace Negotiations.
- Lincoln's Second Inaugural.
- Richmond evacuated.
- Lee's Surrender.
- President Lincoln assassinated.
- Andrew Johnson, President.
- The War. { Effects. { Moral. / Political. / Cost.
- Sanitary and Christian Commissions.

Reconstruction Period, 1865–1877.
- Andrew Johnson.
- Provisional Governors in the South.
- Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- Reconstruction Acts.
- Six States admitted; "Carpet-Baggers."
- Tenure of Office Act.
- Impeachment of the President.
- Atlantic Telegraph Cable.
- Alaska bought. (*Map. Territorial Growth.*)
- French in Mexico.
- Ulysses S. Grant, President.
- Expatriation.
- Chinese Treaty.
- Pacific Railroad finished.
- "Kuklux Klan."
- Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- Civil Rights, and Election Acts.
- Indian Peace Policy.
- Alabama Claims; Geneva Arbitration.
- Fisheries Award.
- Northwest Boundary Decision.

(Reconstruction Period — continued.)

- Fires.
 - Chicago.
 - Forest.
 - Boston.
- Liberal Republicans.
- Horace Greeley.
- The "Modoc War."
- Grant's Second Term.
- Commercial Crisis, 1873.
- Temperance Crusade.
- Weather Bureau.
- Credit Mobilier.
- "Franking" abolished.
- Republican Political Reverses.
- Resumption Act.
- Centennial Exhibition.
- Telephone and Electricity.
- Sioux War.
- Impeachment of Belknap.
- Returning Boards.
- Electoral Commission.

RECENT GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT. (1877–1893.)

Recent Growth and Development, 1877–1893.

- Rutherford B. Hayes, President.
- Withdrawal of Troops from the South.
- Mississippi Jetties.
- Resumption of Specie Payments.
- James A. Garfield, President.
- Assassination of the President.
- Chester A. Arthur becomes President.
- Anti-Polygamy Bill.
- Civil Service Act.
- Mississippi Floods.
- Brooklyn Bridge.
- Yorktown Centennial.
- New Orleans Cotton Exhibition.
- The South in 1884.
- George Peabody.
- Election of 1884.
- Grover Cleveland, President.

(*Recent Growth and Development — continued.*)

- Important Acts of Congress.
 - Presidential Succession.
 - Electoral Count.
 - Interstate Commerce.
 - Chinese Exclusion.
- Labor Troubles.
- Knights of Labor.
- Strikes.
- Charleston Earthquake.
- Statue of Liberty.
- Surplus Revenue.
- Benjamin Harrison, President.
- Oklahoma.
- Washington Centennial.
- Johnstown Disaster.
- Forty-four States.
- Pan-American Congress.
- Filibustering in Congress.
- Later Acts of Congress.
 - "McKinley Bill."
 - Pension Bill.
 - "Sherman Act."
 - International Copyright.
- Democratic Success.
- Census of 1890.
- New Orleans Riot.
- Chile Troubles.
- Bering Sea Arbitration.
- Ballot Reform.
- Homestead Labor Troubles.
- Columbian Celebration.
- Election of 1892.
- Grover Cleveland again President.
- Columbian Exhibition.
- Repeal of Sherman Act.
- Financial Crisis of 1893.
- Hawaiian Difficulties.

Economic, Social, and Literary Conditions.

- United States in 1893. (*Map.*)
- Interstate Emigration.
- Foreign Immigration.
- Urban Population.
- Irrigation.
- Forest Reservations.

(*Economic, Social, and Literary Conditions — continued.*)	Natural Gas. Invention. Transportation; Inland Commerce. The New South. Pacific Coast. Education. Libraries and Associations. Literature. Newspapers.
Social Affairs; Politics; Diplomacy.	"Wilson Bill," Senate Bill. Pullman and Railroad Strikes. Coal Miners' Strikes. "Commonwealers." New York City Reforms. Anti-Lottery Bill. National Military Park. Atlanta Exposition. The Indians. Admission of Utah, Jan. 4, 1896. Republican Nominations, 1896. Democratic Nominations, 1896. "Populist" and Other Nominations, 1896. The Presidential Campaign, 1896. Venezuelan Difficulty.

APPENDIX XII.

A SHORT LIST OF WORKS FOR TEACHERS AND READERS.

NOTE. — The references at the beginning of every chapter of the foregoing History being full, only general works are given in this list. References to advanced works, such as Von Holst's *Constitutional History of the United States*, have been purposely omitted. A vast amount of useful and important information is contained in the Periodical Literature of the past few years; most libraries possess Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, with its supplements, by means of which consultation of periodicals is made easy.

I. BOOKS, ETC., CONTAINING ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, AND SOURCES OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Howard W. Preston, *Documents illustrative of American History*, 1606–1863. New edition. $2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Old South Leaflets, edited by Edwin D. Mead. Five and ten cents a number. Directors of the Old South Work, Boston. Seventy-five numbers already issued; others to follow. An invaluable collection of original documents illustrative of American History. List furnished on application to the publishers.

American History Leaflets, edited by Albert B. Hart and Edward Channing. Ten cents per number. A. Lovell & Co., New York. A series similar to the *Old South Leaflets*. Twenty-four numbers issued; others to follow. Another excellent series. List furnished on application to publishers.

Library of American Literature from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Ellen M. Hutchinson. 11 vols. 8vo. $3.00 per volume. W. E. Benjamin, New York, 1891.

Representative American Orations to illustrate American Political History, edited by Alexander Johnston. 4 vols. New edition. $5.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Cover the period 1775–1881. Valuable introductions.

Mary Sheldon Barnes and Earl Barnes, *Studies in American History*. $1.25. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1892. Has many extracts from original sources, and can be used to great profit with a narrative History.

American Almanac, 1830–1861; *Spofford's American Almanac*, 1878–1889; *Tribune Almanac* (begun as the *Whig Almanac*), New York, 1838–1897; the *World Almanac*, New York, 1887–1897. For general statistics, etc., of

the world, *The Statesmen's Year Book.* $3.00 per volume. 1863–1896. Macmillan & Co., London and New York. *Whitaker's Almanack.* 1869–1896. $1.00 per volume. *Hazell's Annual*, 1886–1896, London. $1.50 per volume.

II. Bibliographies and Aids.

Charles Kendall Adams, *Manual of Historical Literature.* New edition. New York, Harper's, 1889. $2.50.

W. F. Allen, *History Topics for the Use of High Schools and Colleges.* Paper, thirty cents. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1890.

W. E. Foster, *References to History of Presidential Administrations*, 1789–1885. Paper, twenty-five cents. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

E. E. Sparks, *Topical Reference Lists in American History.* Columbus, O., A. H. Smythe, 1893.

Epochs of American History. Valuable bibliographies prefixed to each volume, and also to each chapter. See page lv.

Justin Winsor, *The Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution.* 1761–1783. $1.00. Boston, 1880. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America.* 8 vols. Royal 8vo. $40.00. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885–1889. Valuable bibliographies, illustrations, facsimiles, etc. A great storehouse of facts.

Methods of Teaching and Studying History, edited by G. Stanley Hall. Second edition. $1.50. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co.

W. F. Gordy and W. I. Twitchell, *A Pathfinder in American History*, Parts I. and II. $1.20. Boston, 1893. Lee and Shepard. Containing special reference lists for various grades, outline courses, topics, bibliographies, suggestions. A valuable help to the teacher.

Hannah A. Davidson, *Reference History of the United States for High Schools and Academies.* Ninety cents. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1892. A topical analysis, with exact references to various works.

John F. Sargent, *Reading for the Young.* $1.00. Boston, Library Bureau. 1890. Contains bibliography of American History for youth of all ages.

E. Channing and A. B. Hart, *Guide to the Study of American History.* $2.00. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1896. By far the most complete work on the subject. Chiefly for advanced classes.

B. A. Hinsdale, *How to teach and study History, with particular reference to the History of the United States.* $1.50. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1894. An excellent work.

Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method.* Ninety cents. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1896. A valuable and very suggestive little work.

Carl Ploetz, *Epitome of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Trans-*

lated, with extensive additions, by William H. Tillinghast. Second edition. $3.00. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884. The best book of its class, and invaluable for reference.

Annie E. Wilson, *Compendium of United States History and Literature.* Forty cents. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1896.

III. Maps. (*Reference; and Outline for Pupil's Use.*)

A. B. Hart, *Epoch Maps illustrating American History.* Fifty cents. Longmans & Co., New York, 1891. An excellent series of fourteen maps prepared for *Epochs of American History.* Illustrates "The Historical Geography of the United States and of the Previous Colonies."

Townsend MacCoun, *An Historical Geography of the United States.* New edition. $1.00. Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston, 1890. A series of forty-five maps, illustrating American History from the earliest times to 1890. Accompanied by an explanatory text; a very useful little book.

A. B. Hart and Edward Channing, *Outline Maps of the United States.* The large map is in four sections, each 26 × 42 inches. Price, fifteen cents one section; fifty cents, complete. The small map is 11½ × 18 inches. Price, two cents; $1.50 per hundred. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. Messrs. Heath & Co. also publish a series of Progressive Outline Maps, United States, New England, Middle Atlantic States, Southern States, Eastern Division; Southern States, Western Division; Central States, Eastern Division; Central States, Western Division; Pacific States; the Great Lakes. Two cents each; $1.50 per hundred; also an Intermediate Outline Map of the United States for Historical and Geographical study, 28 × 40 inches. Thirty cents.

IV. General Histories, etc.

George Bancroft, *A History of the United States from the Discovery of America.* Author's last revision. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1886–1888. 6 vols. $15.00. Very full. Ends with 1789.

Richard Hildreth, *A History of the United States* (to 1821). 6 vols. $18.00. Harper's, New York. One of the best accounts of the period.

James Schouler (Skool'er), *History of the United States under the Constitution,* 1789–1861. 5 vols. $11.25. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1880–1891. The best account of the period. Forms, with either Bancroft or Hildreth, a continuous history from the earliest period. A supplementary volume, covering the Civil War, is announced.

William C. Bryant and Sydney H. Gay, *Popular History of the United States.* 4 vols. $24.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Sold by subscription. Profusely illustrated. Particularly strong on colonial history.

Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, 1801–1817. 9 vols. $18.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Very full.

J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*. 6 vols. (4 vols. published). $2.50 per volume. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1883–1892. Dwells largely on social history.

A. B. Hart, editor, *Epochs of American History*. 3 vols. $1.25 per volume. 1. R. G. Thwaites, *The Colonies*, 1492–1750; 2. A. B. Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 1750–1829; 3. W. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 1829–1889. "With full marginal analyses, working bibliographies, maps and indices." Longmans & Co., New York, 1891–1893. Invaluable for the full and exact references, if for nothing else. The third volume is written from a point of view which differs much from that of the first two volumes.

The American History Series. 5 vols. 1. George P. Fisher, *The Colonial Era*, 1492–1756; 2. William M. Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution*, 1756–1787; 3. Francis A. Walker, *The Making of the Nation*, 1787–1815. $1.25 each. 4. John W. Burgess, *The Middle Period* (1815–1858), $1.75. 5. John W. Burgess, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, in preparation. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1892–1897. A series somewhat similar to the "Epoch Series" just named, but more popular in treatment.

Richard Frothingham, *The Rise of the Republic of the United States*. New edition. $3.50. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Excellent.

Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*. $3.00. Harper's, New York. Despite some faults, probably the best single volume on the subject.

Samuel Adams Drake, *The Making of New England; The Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies; The Making of the Ohio Valley States;* and *The Making of the Great West*. $1.50 each. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1886–1894. An excellent series of handbooks.

James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (3 vols. published). $2.50 per volume. Harper's, New York, 1893. Specially strong on the history of Slavery. Best history of the period.

Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America*. 12 vols. $18.00. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Invaluable for the history of the French in America.

John Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, 2 vols.; *Beginnings of New England; The American Revolution*, 2 vols.; *The Critical Period of American History*, 1783–1789. $2.00 per volume. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

E. Benj. Andrews, *The Last Quarter-Century in the United States*, 1870–1895. 2 vols. $6.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1896. Richly illustrated. A panorama of events rather than a history.

J. N. Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, etc. 5 vols. $25.00. C. A.

Nichols Co., Springfield, Mass., 1894–1895. The fifth volume is almost wholly given up to the United States. The work consists of extracts from the principal historians, and is furnished with valuable maps, original documents, etc.

B. J. Lossing, *Harper's Popular Cyclopædia of United States History.* 2 vols. New York, 1881.

N. S. Shaler, editor. *The United States of America: A Study of the American Commonwealth, Its Natural Resources, People, etc.* 2 vols. $10.00. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1894.

James Bryce, *Social Institutions of the United States.* $1.00. Macmillan & Co., New York. Selected chapters from his *The American Commonwealth.*

Edward Eggleston, *A History of Life in the United States* (one volume published), *The Beginners of a Nation.* $1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1896.

V. Constitutional and Political Works.

John J. Lalor, editor, *Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy,* and of the *Political History of the United States.* 3 vols. $18.00. D. D. Merrill Co., New York. The articles on United States history and politics are by Alexander Johnston, and are of high value.

Alexander Johnston, *History of American Politics,* 1783–1881. $1.00. H. Holt & Co., New York. Impartial; the only brief work of the kind.

Edward Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections,* 1789–1892. New edition. $1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1896. A non-partisan account, with statistics of all presidential elections to 1892, and with political platforms of 1896.

Israel W. Andrews, *Manual of the Constitution.* $1.00. American Book Co., New York. An excellent compendium.

Charles F. Dole, *The American Citizen.* $1.00. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

C. T. Hopkins, *Manual of American Ideas.* $1.50. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Both the works just named are valuable for inculcating right views of citizenship.

John Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States.* $1.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1890. Written in the author's entertaining style. One of the best books on the subject.

F. N. Thorpe, *The Government of the People of the United States.* $1.00. New edition. Eldredge & Bro., Philadelphia. Very full.

Jesse Macy, *Our Government.* Eighty-five cents. New edition. Ginn & Co., Boston.

Woodrow Wilson, *The State and Federal Governments of the United States.* Fifty-five cents. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. The part relating to the United States in Professor Wilson's larger work, — *The State.*

James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth.* Revised edition. 2 vols. $4.00. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1895. The ablest study of American Institutions.

James Bryce. *The American Commonwealth.* Abridged edition. $1.75. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1896.

VI. Biographies.

Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography,* edited by John Fiske and Jas. Grant Wilson. 6 vols. $30.00. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1889. The most complete work of the kind.

American Statesmen Series, edited by John T. Morse, Jr. $1.25 per volume. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. An admirable series of American political biographies. List furnished on application to publishers.

Makers of America Series. $1.00 per volume. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1890–1893. A very unequal collection.

Jared Sparks, editor, *Library of American Biography.* 10 vols. 16mo. Harper's, New York. $12.50. Volumes sold separately. This series contains biographies not easily accessible elsewhere, and though an old work, is still worthy of consultation. Note: This is the second series; the first series has long been out of print.

ADDENDA.

Sources of American History.

American Colonial Tracts. "A monthly series of reprints of some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America." Single numbers at 25 cents each, or $3.00 by the year. George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N.Y. List furnished on application to the publisher.

Albert Bushnell Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries.* 4 vols. $2.00 per vol. I. Era of Colonization, 1493–1689; II. Building of the Republic, 1689–1783; III. National Expansion, 1783–1844; IV. Welding of the Nation, 1845–1897. The Macmillan Co., New York. (Vols. II.–IV. are in preparation.)

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